Roosevelt's Stake in Scandinavia *An Editorial Article* *Turn to page 8*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 30, 1940

John Bull Peddles a Gold Brick

AMERICA AND THE USSR

by Alter Brody

Men Who Fake the News

by George Seldes

Christian Front, FDR, Vatican

by Michael Cleary

GROPPER, GARDNER REA, REDFIELD, RICHTER, SORIANO

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Between Ourselves

SEVERAL weeks ago George Seldes agreed to write an article for NM on that subject so dear to his heart—the press, and the way it was handling Finland. Before he was through he discovered that the one article he contemplated had grown into four, and he could keep on writing quite a while more on this particular proposition but his time ran out. The current article, "The Men Who Fake the News," will be followed next week by the fourth and last of the series, "War Lords of the Press." We are pleased to announce that the letters pouring into this office praising the Seldes articles promise to match the response to the Spivak series. Every day readers write in from all byways of America urging that we get the series out in a pamphlet so it can be scattered far and wide to all who are exposed to the American commercial press and have no local protection.

Britain's Left Book Club *News* has published a debate between Prof. Harold Laski and John Strachey on the nature of the war, in which Mr. Strachey takes the position that the war is an imperialist one and cannot be supported. In answer to the argument that Chamberlain is fighting to restore Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland, Strachey says, "I cannot conceive it possible that the present British government, which not merely acquiesced in, but vigorously assisted at, the German enslavement of Czechoslovakia and of Spain; which did nothing to preserve Austrian independence; which did, and does, nothing to preserve or restore Albanian, Abyssinian, or Chinese independence, has now been inspired to undertake a great war, with all that that involves, in order to assert the principle of self-determination." Indeed, says Mr. Strachey, he opposes the "restoration" of "governments of the Beck-Smigly-Rydz and Dollfuss-Schuschnigg type." "We characterize the present war as an imperialist war. It is a war between capitalist empires, waged in order to decide which one of them should dominate a large part of the world. . . . The way out for the world does not and cannot lie through the victory of British, French, or German imperialism. The way out lies through the struggle of the people of Britain, France, and Germany, and the people of every other imperialist power, against their own governments. In the same way the German people can help the Indian people's struggle for freedom, not by fighting for German imperialism, but by their own struggle to end German imperialism."

A frivolous-minded reader has suggested a theme song for the Finnish ski patrols, "I've Been Working on the Railroad," which led one of our editors to counter with a glee for the Finnish General Staff, "I Wonder What's Become of Salla." Entries in this contest will be accepted if accompanied by twenty-five subscriptions to NM.

Many of this magazine's readers and contributors are preparing for the happy occasion, February 17, of the twentieth year of William Gropper's career as a people's cartoonist and painter. The affair will be held at Mecca Temple and among the speakers and sponsors of the meeting are Art Young, Kuniyoshi, Fred Ellis, Adolph Dehn, Stuart Davis, Max Weber, Moi Solotaroff, Minna Harkavy, and other members of the American Artists Congress, An American Group, and the United American Artists, CIO. Other sponsors include Benno Schneider, Joseph North, Sam Jaffe, Sam Don, Mike Gold, and Ben Davis. Also on the program to honor Bill Gropper will be the American People's Chorus, Earl Robinson, director; the dancer Tamiris; and a movie short of Gropper at his drawing table.

The host of anti-alien bills in Congress and the general reactionary drive against the foreign born are being opposed by two conferences—the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, to be held in Washington, D. C., March 2 and 3; and the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, on Monday, February 12, at 2 p.m., at 2 West 64th St., N. Y. C. Ernest Hemingway and Dr. William Allan Neilson head the first committee and have asked inquiries to be directed to Pre-Conference Headquarters, Rm. 1505, 79 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. The New York Emergency Conference committee is located at Rm. 508, 2 West 43rd St., N. Y. C.

Three new publications will be of interest to our readers. *Films* is the name of a theoretical magazine offered quarterly by Kamin Publishers at 15 West 56th St., N. Y. C., and containing articles by leading progressive film critics and creative workers. *Film Survey*, the new bulletin of Film Audiences for Democracy, serves the interests of the liberal filmgoer with background articles, reviews, and informative material. *Jazz Information* is a weekly paper for hot fans with collectors' information, whereabouts of the bands and players, and comprehensive record reviews.

The Theater Arts Committee announces its first Harlem Cabaret, with a show consisting entirely of progressive Negro theater and musical artists, including the important small jazz ensemble of James P. Johnson. The Cabaret will be held at the Park Plaza, 110th St. and Fifth Ave., Saturday night, February 3, and will have as honored guests Andy Razaf, Negro songwriter, Count Basie, Jean Muir, Richard Wright, Frank Wilson, Leif Erickson, and others.

We ask our readers to remember to mention NM when they buy articles that have been advertised in our pages. This will have a cozy little effect in getting more advertising. Ourselves, we think the effectiveness of NM advertising is not sufficiently recognized.

Who's Who

MICHAEL CLEARY has been a frequent attendant at Christian Front meetings in New York and Brooklyn and was a student of the pro-Franco campaign in America. He is a cab driver by profession. . . . George Seldes, whose third of a series of four articles on the press and Finland is in this issue, is a well known foreign correspondent, former *Ken* editor, and author of many books about the current problems of the day. . . . James Neugass was an ambulance driver with the American Medical Bureau in Spain; he is a well known poet and short story writer. . . . Alter Brody is a regular contributor to NM. He describes himself as "an old fellow traveler of the Soviet Union."

Flashbacks

MEMO to those seeking to clear the way to war by imprisoning Earl Browder: On Jan. 30, 1919, Browder was in Leavenworth, along with a large number of other Americans who resisted the First Imperialist World War. That day, 2,300 inmates of the prison began a successful strike for better conditions. Spokesman for the strikers at the time of their victory was Rhodes Scholar Carl Haessler, who is now an editor for the United Automobile Workers, CIO. . . . Tom Paine, propagandist and agitator of the two great progressive revolutions of the eighteenth century, was born Jan. 29, 1737. . . . Suggestion to the capitalist newspapers: On January 31, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the formation of the Red Army, why not run the following headline: "Four Skis Without Finns Surround Entire Soviet Army"? . . . A headline the London *Times* did carry on Jan. 30, 1920, made this great admission. . . . "Siberia All Red."

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIV JANUARY 30, 1940 NUMBER 6

Behind the Christian Front Arrests

Father Coughlin's "Franco way" comes to America. Lifting the lid on the people Dies has been protecting. Roman Catholics and the war. The higher ups.

ON Saturday, January 13, J. Edgar Hoover's senior G-men started arresting members of the Christian Front and by Monday seventeen were in jail under $850,000 bail. The accusation read:

> You are charged here from the first day of July 1939 to the 13th day of January 1940 with conspiracy with other people to overthrow the government of the United States by seizing a quantity of firearms and ammunition.

With the government of the United States rapidly preparing to assist the French and English governments in their present war upon Nazi Germany, that's a serious charge. When it is revealed that the plotters include at least three members of the Nazi Bund, one of them a Gestapo agent, and involved with them in the conspiracy are three officers of the U. S. National Guard, one a captain of the 165th Infantry Regiment (the old 69th) it again ceases to be a laughing matter. More: when all the accused turn out to be disciples of Father Coughlin whom they call "our leader" and their organizer is John F. Cassidy, district organizer of the Christian Front and co-speaker with Father Coughlin at CF rallies, the perspective broadens. Perhaps there is more to this case than meets the eye of the headline reader? There is.

NAZI HISTORY

Maybe we'd better go back a way. In the days when Herr Hitler was the great "bulwark against Bolshevism," his declared enemies were the "Communistic Jews." In Nazi Germany and elsewhere his stormtroopers and Gestapo agents stirred up people and tried to get them to blame their economic distress upon the helpless Jews. By using revised shibboleths, such as the "Protocols of Zion," created years ago to rouse the Catholic masses against freemasonry and Protestantism, fascism hoped to develop a crusade against the Soviet Union, where anti-Semitism is a crime and a Jew is considered as good as any other man.

In England, the Gestapo worked with Sir Oswald Mosley. In France it worked with Les Cagoulards and the "Catholics" of the Action Francaise. In Italy it worked with Mussolini and the Fascist Party which soon adopted the Nuremberg Laws. In Spain it worked with Franco and the Falange where (since there were so very few Jews) it attacked Prot-

NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

Royal Oak, Michigan July 31, 1939 Subscription: Three Dollars Per Year 10¢

CHRISTIAN FRONT CARRIES FIGHT INTO MORE STATES

Story on Page 3

EDWARD LODGE CURRAN REPLIES TO ROOSEVELT ON SUNDAY BROADCAST

DR. EDWARD LODGE CURRAN of Brooklyn, N. Y. president of the International Catholic Truth Society, took Father Coughlin's radio hour on Sunday, July 23, to reply to the abusive attack on the Radio Forum by Elliott Roosevelt, son of the President of the United States.

Dr. Curran's tribute to Father Coughlin was somewhat of a shock to those who have been endeavoring to turn priest against priest.

In his own eloquent and inimitable manner the distinguished president of the International Catholic Truth Society upheld the cause of free speech—and license of speech.

Had it not been for Father Coughlin and free speech America long since would have been a member of the World Court.

Had it not been for the Royal Oak pastor America would have invited watchmen against Hitler, thereby becoming embroiled in war months ago.

Had it not been for the microphone in the "rendezvous of Mississippi" the underdogs would have been lifted against Red Spain, with the result that Christendom's Cross would have bowed before the hammer and sickle of Karl Marx.

And had it not been for the energetic onslaught made by Father Coughlin against the New Deal "Revolutionary Act" the world would now have been at war and America would have lost its last vestige of liberty.

These things were indicated by Father Curran.

And what has Elliott Roosevelt contributed to America?

He has participated in aiding and abetting the Communists of Moscow for pecuniary gain.

He has not been a fine example in domestic life for the youth of America.

Were it not for the prestige of his parents he would be one of the unknowns of history.

Free speech, employed by his father and his father's friends in 1932, gave Elliott Roosevelt his chance to rise from the rut of the ordinary to the peaks of the powerful.

And, now that it has served his purpose, he says that free speech should be made a dead issue and destroyed.

Not Father Coughlin, who seeks no personal or political gain — would continue to unveil the real motives which lie hidden behind the downhill sweep of the manipulators.

And Father Coughlin, in "anti-Semitic," as the stripling of the nation's first family asserts.

Has Elliott Roosevelt ever read the 28th Chapter of the "Book of Deuteronomy"? If not, may some kind-hearted Gideon give him a copy. After having read it, let him call Moses an anti-Semite for the great Jewish leader merely plaited with the tribes of Israel and Judah to follow him out of the land of bondage into the promised land of God.

(Continued on Page 3)

DR. EDWARD LODGE CURRAN PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY

FROM THE TOWER ITALY'S NEW SCHOOL CHARTER REDS RADGER WISCONSIN

THE COUGHLIN OF THE EAST. *Christian Front chaplain Father Edward Lodge Curran likes to say: "While there's a Coughlin in the West, there'll be a Curran in the East!" thus overlooking his colleague Father Thorning down in Maryland who was Franco's chief clerical apologist in the United States. This July 31, 1939, issue of "Social Justice," which appeared within the time mentioned in the charge of the FBI against the Christian Fronters arrested for plotting the overthrow of the United States government, is reproduced above. Coughlin boasted of speaking on the same platform with plotter John F. Cassidy before 8,500 CF members, in "Social Justice" issue of July 24, 1939.*

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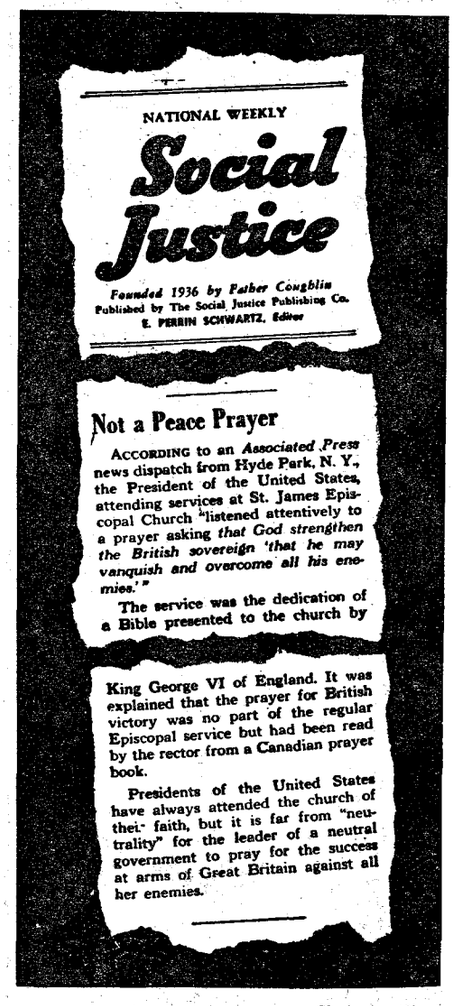
estants, freemasons, and liberals. In Mexico it works with the emasculating Cristeros whose victims are usually school teachers.

In the United States the Gestapo erected the German-American Bund to develop a pro-Nazi organization among Germans. Members of this Nazi-directed organization (whose fuehrer, Fritz Kuhn, is now in Sing Sing) worked with all the varied American "shirt" organizations and legions established by American reaction to serve the same uses as the Nazi and Fascist parties in Germany and Italy.

The most prominent supporter of the fascist idea in the United States was and is Father Coughlin. He has a nationwide radio hour, he has a magazine, *Social Justice,* he has the tacit support of the Roman Catholic Church organization of which he is a priest and the freedom to recruit to his organization from the 21,000,000 communicants of that church. He reviles the "Communistic Jews," he calls for the "Franco way" of overthrowing the government, he blasts "satanic" freemasonry as the origin of all hated liberalism, the seed from which spring socialism and Communism. He attacks President Roosevelt and his New Deal. President Roosevelt is a Mason, the president of the exclusive Masonic "Society of De Molay."



NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin
Published by The Social Justice Publishing Co.
E. PERRIN SCHWARTZ, Editor

Not a Peace Prayer

ACCORDING to an *Associated Press* news dispatch from Hyde Park, N. Y., the President of the United States, attending services at St. James Episcopal Church "listened attentively to a prayer asking *that God strengthen the British sovereign 'that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies.'*"

The service was the dedication of a Bible presented to the church by King George VI of England. It was explained that the prayer for British victory was no part of the regular Episcopal service but had been read by the rector from a Canadian prayer book.

Presidents of the United States have always attended the church of their faith, but it is far from "neutrality" for the leader of a neutral government to pray for the success at arms of Great Britain against all her enemies.

NOT A HOLY WAR, YET. *Episcopalian prayers by President Roosevelt to "strengthen the British sovereign that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies" are not peace prayers, but neither were Cardinal Hayes' prayers for Franco nor the prayers of 21,000,000 misguided American Catholics which the Roman Catholic hierarchy urged for the success of Nazi, fascist, and Moorish troops in Spain. The CF favors "the Franco way" here.*

WILLING STOOGES

After many tries with the "League of the Little Flower," the "National Union for Social Justice," and various "Coughlin Clubs," Silver Charlie (as John Spivak showed in documented detail in NEW MASSES a few weeks back) never got to first base as an organizer. But since they saw eye to eye with Coughlin, the Gestapo in the United States supplied that lack. They joined the Coughlin Clubs, amalgamated the various "shirts" regionally, and built the Christian Front with anti-Semitic, anti-Communist Roman Catholics and some bigoted Protestants.

The anti-Semitic activities of the Christian Front are known by anyone who has lived in a community where a CF branch has existed. In Brooklyn, N. Y., where CF activity has been spurred by Father Edward Lodge Curran, the self-styled "Coughlin of the East," their terror has made its mark on every neighborhood. Most of the arrested plotters in the FBI drive are from this CF district. John F. Cassidy, their imprisoned ringleader who gave the Franco heil, "Long Live Christ the King: Down with Communism," as he was arraigned in the Brooklyn Federal Building, is an associate of Father Curran. It is as useless for Father Coughlin or Father Curran to deny sponsorship of these terrorists and would-be assassins as it would be for the Roman Catholic hierarchy to deny that Fathers Coughlin and Curran are priests.

Now what made these CF National Guardsmen and devout Roman Catholic boys and Gestapo men team up, assemble an arsenal of bombs and guns, and attempt to execute the following plot of which the Federal Bureau of Investigation accuses them?

Slay all Jews.

Assassinate fourteen United States congressmen who had voted for the repeal of the arms embargo.

Bomb the plant of the *Jewish Daily Forward* (a violently anti-Communist newspaper which supports the Franco-British imperialist war), the Cameo Theater on 42nd Street, New York City, which specializes in Soviet films, and the offices of the *Daily Worker,* official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA.

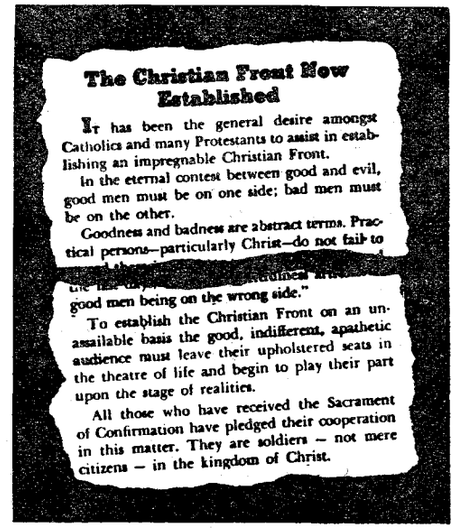
Wreck the offices of the American League for Peace and Democracy, on Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn.

Bomb the Brooklyn and Philadelphia Navy Yards.

Bomb West Point and Annapolis.

Seize Federal Reserve Banks, National Guard Armories, the United States Customs House, railway terminals, the main postoffice here, and all utility facilities.

That's "the Franco way," all right. It's the Mussolini way too, and the Hitler way.



The Christian Front Now Established

IT has been the general desire amongst Catholics and many Protestants to assist in establishing an impregnable Christian Front.

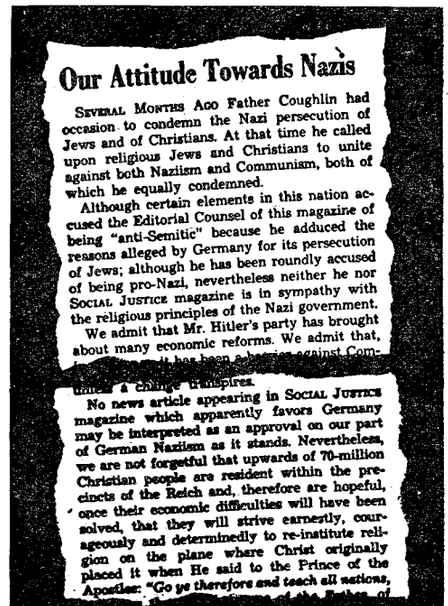
In the eternal contest between good and evil, good men must be on one side; bad men must be on the other.

Goodness and badness are abstract terms. Practical persons—particularly Christ—do not fail to [illegible] good men being on the wrong side."

To establish the Christian Front on an unassailable basis the good, indifferent, apathetic audience must leave their upholstered seats in the theatre of life and begin to play their part upon the stage of realities.

All those who have received the Sacrament of Confirmation have pledged their cooperation in this matter. They are soldiers — not mere citizens — in the kingdom of Christ.

COUGHLIN ANNOUNCES THE CHRISTIAN FRONT. *"Social Justice" announced on Aug. 7, 1939, that all confirmed Catholics will cooperate with the Christian Front. They number millions and the American hierarchy has not denied it. Rather, according to Archbishop Mooney, Coughlin's superior, the radio priest's ideas are held by over 50 percent of the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States.*



Our Attitude Towards Nazis

SEVERAL MONTHS AGO Father Coughlin had occasion to condemn the Nazi persecution of Jews and of Christians. At that time he called upon religious Jews and Christians to unite against both Naziism and Communism, both of which he equally condemned.

Although certain elements in this nation accused the Editorial Counsel of this magazine of being "anti-Semitic" because he adduced the reasons alleged by Germany for its persecution of Jews; although he has been roundly accused of being pro-Nazi, nevertheless neither he nor SOCIAL JUSTICE magazine is in sympathy with the religious principles of the Nazi government.

We admit that Mr. Hitler's party has brought about many economic reforms. We admit that, [illegible] a change transpires.

No news article appearing in SOCIAL JUSTICE magazine which apparently favors Germany may be interpreted as an approval on our part of German Naziism as it stands. Nevertheless, we are not forgetful that upwards of 70-million Christian people are resident within the precincts of the Reich and, therefore are hopeful, once their economic difficulties will have been solved, that they will strive earnestly, courageously and determinedly to re-institute religion on the plane where Christ originally placed it when He said to the Prince of the Apostles: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations,

THOSE SEVENTY MILLION REICH CATHOLICS. *Coughlin's pro-Nazi stand and utilization of Bundists and Gestapo men in his Christian Front is bound up with the Vatican's use of Catholics in Nazi Germany to gain political trading power. This "Social Justice" editorial explains it. Unhappy warrior F.D.R. is worried about how 21,000,000 American Catholics may be used if Coughlin remains at large. Christian Front activity in Ireland (where CF fighters went to Franco's Spain) and the United States (where the Franco way of open insurrection against a democratic government was urged) was approved by 100 percent of the Roman Catholic clergy.*

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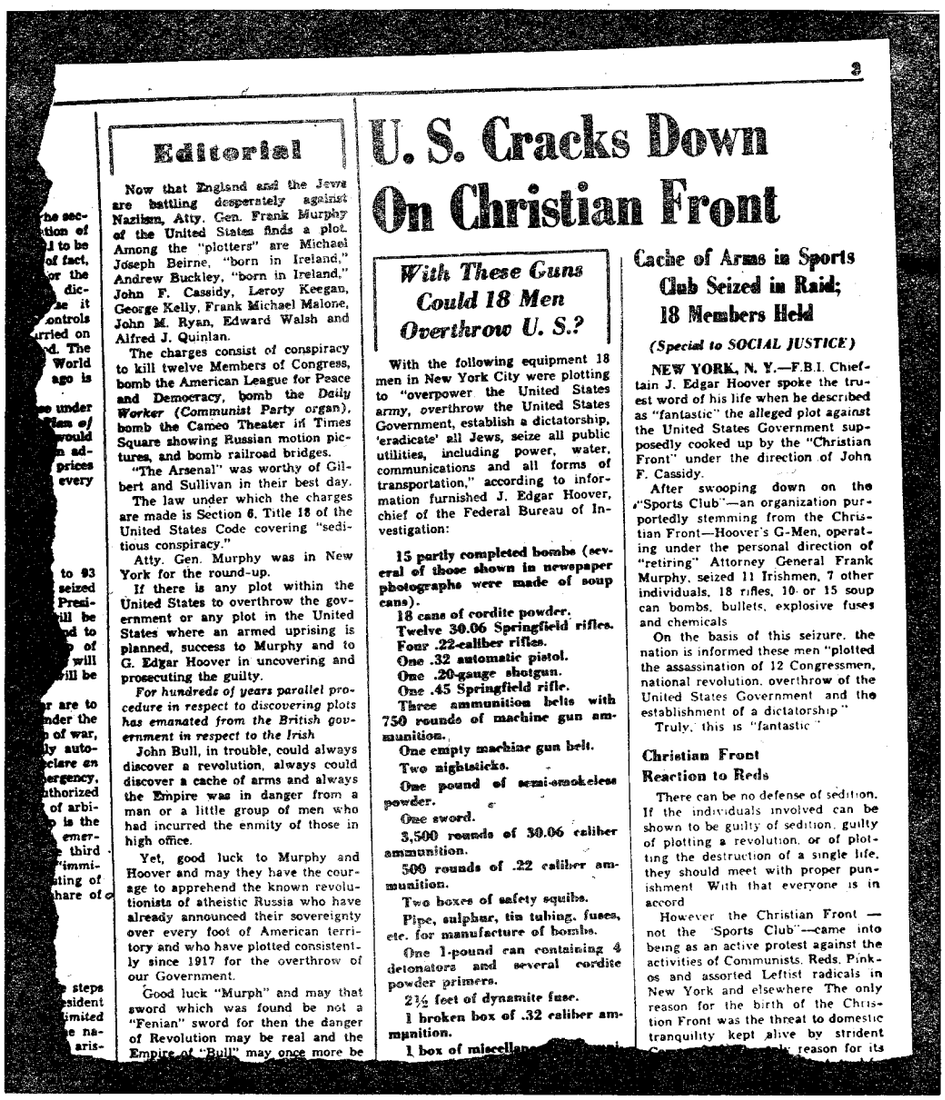

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Editorial

Now that England and the Jews are battling desperately against Nazism, Atty. Gen. Frank Murphy of the United States finds a plot. Among the "plotters" are Michael Joseph Beirne, "born in Ireland," Andrew Buckley, "born in Ireland," John F. Cassidy, Leroy Keegan, George Kelly, Frank Michael Malone, John M. Ryan, Edward Walsh and Alfred J. Quinlan.

The charges consist of conspiracy to kill twelve Members of Congress, bomb the American League for Peace and Democracy, bomb the *Daily Worker* (Communist Party organ), bomb the Cameo Theater in Times Square showing Russian motion pictures, and bomb railroad bridges.

"The Arsenal" was worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan in their best day.

The law under which the charges are made is Section 6, Title 18 of the United States Code covering "seditious conspiracy."

Atty. Gen. Murphy was in New York for the round-up.

If there is any plot within the United States to overthrow the government or any plot in the United States where an armed uprising is planned, success to Murphy and to G. Edgar Hoover in uncovering and prosecuting the guilty.

For hundreds of years parallel procedure in respect to discovering plots has emanated from the British government in respect to the Irish

John Bull, in trouble, could always discover a revolution, always could discover a cache of arms and always the Empire was in danger from a man or a little group of men who had incurred the enmity of those in high office.

Yet, good luck to Murphy and Hoover and may they have the courage to apprehend the known revolutionists of atheistic Russia who have already announced their sovereignty over every foot of American territory and who have plotted consistently since 1917 for the overthrow of our Government.

Good luck "Murph" and may that sword which was found be not a "Fenian" sword for then the danger of Revolution may be real and the Empire of "Bull" may once more be

U. S. Cracks Down On Christian Front

With These Guns Could 18 Men Overthrow U. S.?

With the following equipment 18 men in New York City were plotting to "overpower the United States army, overthrow the United States Government, establish a dictatorship, 'eradicate' all Jews, seize all public utilities, including power, water, communications and all forms of transportation," according to information furnished J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

15 partly completed bombs (several of those shown in newspaper photographs were made of soup cans).
18 cans of cordite powder.
Twelve 30.06 Springfield rifles.
Four .22-caliber rifles.
One .32 automatic pistol.
One .20-gauge shotgun.
One .45 Springfield rifle.
Three ammunition belts with 750 rounds of machine gun ammunition.
One empty machine gun belt.
Two nightsticks.
One pound of semi-smokeless powder.
One sword.
3,500 rounds of 30.06 caliber ammunition.
500 rounds of .22 caliber ammunition.
Two boxes of safety squibs.
Pipe, sulphur, tin tubing, fuses, etc. for manufacture of bombs.
One 1-pound can containing 4 detonators and several cordite powder primers.
2½ feet of dynamite fuse.
1 broken box of .32 caliber ammunition.
1 box of miscella

Cache of Arms in Sports Club Seized in Raid; 18 Members Held

(Special to SOCIAL JUSTICE)

NEW YORK, N. Y.—F.B.I. Chieftain J. Edgar Hoover spoke the truest word of his life when he described as "fantastic" the alleged plot against the United States Government supposedly cooked up by the "Christian Front" under the direction of John F. Cassidy.

After swooping down on the "Sports Club"—an organization purportedly stemming from the Christian Front—Hoover's G-Men, operating under the personal direction of "retiring" Attorney General Frank Murphy, seized 11 Irishmen, 7 other individuals, 18 rifles, 10 or 15 soup can bombs, bullets, explosive fuses and chemicals

On the basis of this seizure, the nation is informed these men "plotted the assassination of 12 Congressmen, national revolution, overthrow of the United States Government and the establishment of a dictatorship."

Truly, this is "fantastic."

Christian Front Reaction to Reds

There can be no defense of sedition. If the individuals involved can be shown to be guilty of sedition, guilty of plotting a revolution, or of plotting the destruction of a single life, they should meet with proper punishment. With that everyone is in accord

However the Christian Front — not the "Sports Club"—came into being as an active protest against the activities of Communists, Reds, Pinkos and assorted Leftist radicals in New York and elsewhere. The only reason for the birth of the Christian Front was the threat to domestic tranquility kept alive by strident

COUGHLIN TRIES TO LAUGH IT OFF. *Pooh-poohing the Christian Front arrests, Coughlin's "Social Justice" tries to laugh off the incriminating arsenal and the Franco-like plot. Defending his Christian Front, whose $1,000 contribution he never returned publicly (despite his lying statement), Coughlin says it was organized to protest actively (with guns, naturally) "Communists, Reds, Pinkos, and assorted radicals in New York and elsewhere." Last Sunday Coughlin backtracked and stood with the accused plotters.*

It was also the Father Hlinka and the Monsignor Tiso way in Slovakia and the Monsignor Seipel way in Austria, not to mention the Salazar way in Portugal. Mexico may soon experience the Almazan way.

What has the CF been doing in America, why did it break now, and why did the FBI crack down on it so embarrassingly for the National Guard, the Roman Catholic Church, and the German-American Bund? It has been going on for several years with only the Communists and a few liberals protesting against it. Lately the free citizens of the United States realized it was a threat to their democracy and a wider protest was echoed by the National Conference of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Jewish Committee, and the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights. NEW MASSES stimulated renewed interest by its salvo of Spivak exposes. Less than a month later the first arrests of the Christian Front are made, less than a week after the announced appointment of a new attorney general in the place of Frank Murphy, who ignored such complaints, as did his predecessors. Why?

The Second Imperialist War will give us the answer. The alignment of imperialist forces as the corrupt structure of capitalism totters will explain the arrest of such strange bedfellows as are in the Christian Front (the same Christian Front that fought for Franco) by the war-pursuing administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

THE SPANISH EMBARGO

During the war in Spain, all the clergy and hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church supported Franco and his Nazi and fascist allies. The Basque Catholic lay and clerical leaders, agents of the English, who owned most of the Basque industries, were sacrificed bloodily to make Spain "One, Free, and Catholic." The Protestant churches which enjoyed a brief spell of freedom under the republic were extinguished by Franco. Freemasons were hunted like Communists and Anarchists. American Protestants, lay and clerical, were indignant and rallied about the American committees to aid republican Spain. But Franklin D. Roosevelt was chary of the Roman Catholic vote; he made no effort to lift the embargo for beleaguered republican Spain once he had slapped it on. He played the British policy, whose motto might be "The only good Spaniard is a dead Spaniard." The French and English, aiding first the republic and then Franco, bled the country white so that it might not be embarrassingly strong when the big show came along in 1940.

After this experience with Vatican policy during the first act in Spain, there came Poland, the great Catholic state of Central Europe. When the British and French put Poland on the spot and left it there, the Roman Catholic Church lost millions of communicants. Irretrievably lost are those who were in what is now Soviet Byelo Russia and the western Ukraine. The Vatican was let down badly by "Masonic" France and "Anglican schismatic" England. Almost seventy million Catholics are still to be found in Germany, Austria, Slovakia, German Poland, and Hungary, all east of the Siegfried Line—all, also, under the "protection" of No. 1 Nazi Adolf Hitler, who plays fast and loose with Catholic rights and property. Nevertheless the Roman Catholic bishops of Germany support, to a man, his war against England and France.

If the war continues and brings about the exhaustion of the Third Reich, Germany may well go Communist. Over the border down Soviet way, the German people may hear that old refrain "Peace, Land, Bread" and take up the chorus as did the workers and peasants from Moscow to Vladivostok in 1917.

PAX ROMANA

If, however, a new Munich is negotiated and the German people are made into vassals of England and France like the Indians and the Irish, with the Catholic Church supervising them as it does the Portuguese, then the supreme pontiff will declare it a Just Peace and a Peace of Christ, and the Holy War against Atheistic Communism is all set, bell, book, and bomber.

His holiness, Pius XII, has made many declarations about the necessity for such a Just Peace recently. But the heartless imperialists of England and France go right on squeezing Germany and forcing its people (Catholics included) plop into the arms of the non-sectarian Communists. With the involvement of the United States in the war, on the side of Chamberlain and Daladier, the question that arises in the Vatican is how to use the 21,000,000 Roman Catholics in this country to achieve a Just Peace and a Harmonious System of Life Among All Peoples, as it is called in ecclesiastical jive. The object is to save those seventy million Roman Catholics caught in the middle of Europe from being imperialistically bombed into a state of socialism.

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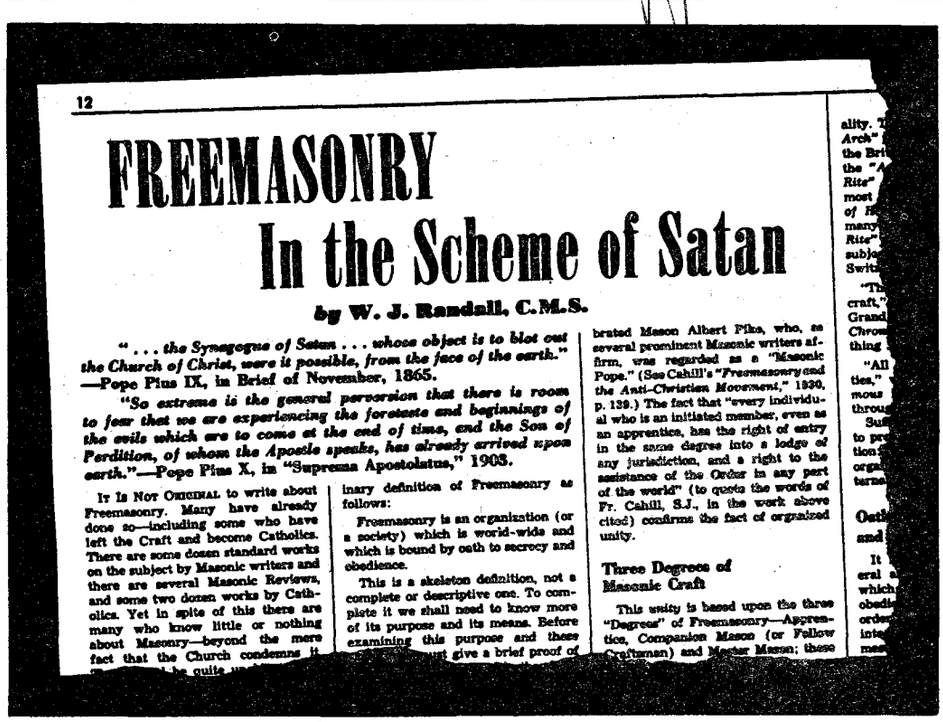
Forestalling the mobilization of the faithful behind this papal peace plan, Franklin D. Roosevelt assigned his fellow Mason and Episcopalian (American branch of the state church of England) Myron Taylor as his personal representative to the Holy See with plenipotentiary powers. American Catholics were naively reassured by this seemingly devout gesture carried out in connivance with the British Foreign Office. American imperialists knew their man Taylor and saw the dodge.

Mr. Taylor's task at the Holy See will be to persuade the pope that his plan for saving Germany for capitalism by substituting a bunch of Salazars for Hitler is rather opaque at this stage of the game. Mr. Taylor may inform his holiness that the Third Reich is beyond the help of prayer. America is lining up with England and France and whatever neutrals they can grab first (all predominantly Protestant countries, by the way), and Germany and the Soviet Union are going to be busted one after the other. That seventy million Roman Catholics are caught in the crossfire is just too bad. If the pontiff wants to save his people and church, he had better line up all Catholics everywhere behind Roosevelt, Chamberlain, and Daladier. That includes the King of Italy, Franco, Ireland, and the 21,000,000 Catholics in America, not omitting Silver Charlie Coughlin and his Christian Front—and Father Coughlin had better stop lambasting the British empire and F.D.R. in *Social Justice*. Canada has already banned Coughlin by magazine and radio.

His holiness' reflexes were not quite brisk enough, so G-whiz Hoover blew his silver whistle and the seventeen Christian Fronters were arrested on Saturday, January 13. Some were arrested coming from the confessional, some were nabbed after choir practice. The father of Capt. John T. Prout, Jr., the National Guard officer arrested for treason, was in Hollywood supervising a movie glorifying Father Duffy and the "old 69th Regiment" which his son had just betrayed in company with Nazi saboteurs. John T. Prout, Sr., is also a Christian Fronter and has had a variegated career all the way from spying on IRA men for the Free Staters in Eire during the "trouble" to exhorting the Christian Front membership in the Transport Workers Union to blow up the New York subway and have it blamed on the union leadership. The TWU later exposed and expelled some of them. Prout's crony Major Walsh, who was adjutant of the 69th Regiment and is still an officer, was election manager for Congressman James H. Fay of New York and attempted to sabotage every progressive aspect of Fay's fight against John J. O'Connor, a CF candidate. Walsh now works in the N. Y. Comptroller's office. This gives you an idea of the people involved.

An investigation has been started into the possible complicity of several thousands of New York and Boston policemen who are members of the Christian Front. Pro-Francoites such as Father Thorning of Maryland, John Hinkle of the New York *Times* and the National Catholic Welfare Conference news service, Walter Ogden, registrar of the Paulist pro-cathedral in New York and secretary of the CF, and Merwin K. Hart of the New York State Economic Council (accused in Congress of being the CF's liaison officer with Martin Dies) are suspected in the plot, which is proportionately larger than the Francoist uprising in Spain. Behind them all is the ubiquitous Gestapo man whose main job has been to sabotage the British and French war against the Third Reich. After denouncing the CF, Coughlin now admits complicity and will try to marshal the clergy to defend the accused plotters. The history of the fascist uprising against the Spanish republic 1931-36 shows what will happen to America if immediate and drastic action is not taken now.



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FREEMASONRY
In the Scheme of Satan

by W. J. Randall, C.M.S.

". . . the Synagogue of Satan . . . whose object is to blot out the Church of Christ, were it possible, from the face of the earth." —Pope Pius IX, in Brief of November, 1865.

"So extreme is the general perversion that there is room to fear that we are experiencing the foretaste and beginnings of the evils which are to come at the end of time, and the Son of Perdition, of whom the Apostle speaks, has already arrived upon earth."—Pope Pius X, in "Supremæ Apostolatus," 1903.

IT IS NOT ORIGINAL to write about Freemasonry. Many have already done so—including some who have left the Craft and become Catholics. There are some dozen standard works on the subject by Masonic writers and there are several Masonic Reviews, and some two dozen works by Catholics. Yet in spite of this there are many who know little or nothing about Masonry—beyond the mere fact that the Church condemns it

inary definition of Freemasonry as follows:

Freemasonry is an organization (or a society) which is world-wide and which is bound by oath to secrecy and obedience.

This is a skeleton definition, not a complete or descriptive one. To complete it we shall need to know more of its purpose and its means. Before examining this purpose and these give a brief proof of

brated Mason Albert Pike, who, as several prominent Masonic writers affirm, was regarded as a "Masonic Pope." (See Cahill's *"Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement,"* 1930, p. 139.) The fact that "every individual who is an initiated member, even as an apprentice, has the right of entry in the same degree into a lodge of any jurisdiction, and a right to the assistance of the Order in any part of the world" (to quote the words of Fr. Cahill, S.J., in the work above cited) confirms the fact of organized unity.

Three Degrees of Masonic Craft

This unity is based upon the three "Degrees" of Freemasonry—Apprentice, Companion Mason (or Fellow Craftsman) and Master Mason; these

THOSE COMMUNISTIC MASONS. *An integral part of the Christian Front attack has been the smearing of all freemasons as this first of a series of articles on "Social Justice" shows. Jews, Protestants, and non-believers are members of freemasonic lodges, no Catholics. Franco exterminated by execution all freemasons he could find. To the Christian Front, Masons, including President Roosevelt, may be shot like Communists, liberals, and Socialists. All are considered agents of Satan.*

A PAPAL BEEF

Meanwhile, over in Rome, the British government put the arm on his holiness again, as the diplomats say. On January 16, the day after the CF plot broke in the papers, D'Arcy Osborne, British minister to the Holy See, asked, according to the United Press, whether

> . . . the pope's publicly expressed opinion that belligerents ought to subordinate their particular interests to general interests in bringing about peace implied any Vatican criticism of publicly expressed Anglo-French aims. . . .
>
> It was reported reliably that the pope pointed out that as far as belligerents were concerned, the Vatican had continued to maintain normal relations with Germany despite some points of difference between them.

The Catholic laity in America, like the rest of our citizens, are afraid of being drawn as soldiers into the imperialist war or being drafted to make shells to kill their brothers across the Siegfried Line. The American hierarchy may succumb to the pressure of the White House and abandon their co-religionists in Central Europe for whom the pope weeps.

Then the Irish Catholics of the Christian Front will be told to fight for the British empire; Coughlin will have to shut up his pro-Nazi, anti-Masonic ravings; the Catholic college students will have to abjure their overwhelming vote against the present war (as publicized by the Jesuit organ *America*); every Catholic pulpit will have to shout anathema upon Hitler and Communism in one breath (instead of democracy and Communism as during the war in Spain); Franco will have to be denounced as a Red if he doesn't come over on the Allied side with Mussolini, and the devil take the hindmost.

For, you see, all church hierarchies, including that of the Church of Rome, are just tools of the bourgeois ruling class and even the elect of God must dance when imperialism calls the tune.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Tiso, premier of the Catholic state of Slovakia, found this out when the Gestapo advised him it would be considered good taste to send warm personal felicitations to Joseph Stalin on his sixtieth birthday. Marxists point to such behavior as "a contradiction of capitalism."

MICHAEL CLEARY.

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William Gropper

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Roosevelt's Stake in Scandinavia

AN EDITORIAL

NO INTERNATIONAL gambler has ever played for higher stakes than Franklin D. Roosevelt on the issue of Finland. One can only surmise how serious the State Department's commitments in Europe must be when the President of the United States risks a first-rate defeat on so critical an issue as a loan to Helsinki at so critical a time. By the same token, the fracas in Finland is revealed as much more than a quarrel between the peaceful, democratic, little nation that always paid its debts and the brutish, Asiatic Russian Bear. Finland is so decisive a lever in the war against Germany, and the latent war against the USSR, that Franklin D. Roosevelt is prepared to risk a diplomatic setback whose repercussions within the United States and abroad Mr. Walter Lippmann and Miss Dorothy Thompson have every right to consider disastrous. The entire course of American foreign policy is involved. The immediate future of the American people is at stake.

Europe has been confronted with much more than a military stalemate. As Alter Brody reports in this issue, the Allied counter-offensive to the Soviet-German Pact developed as an "aggressive peace." Efforts continued to bring Germany around; Italy's own aspirations in the Balkans were cleverly employed; Turkey was won away from her close accord with the USSR through a tremendous bribe of $340,000,000. By the middle of October, the opposing forces were so equally balanced that only the intervention of an external force, the United States, would suffice to give the Allies the edge.

The State Department seized the opportunity to preface its anti-Soviet orientation via the *City of Flint*. Washington went out of its way to snub the USSR upon its twenty-second anniversary. F.D.R. was a concealed visitor at the Moscow conferences with the Finnish delegates even before the Soviet proposals were made public. The President exerted himself to assure the Scandinavian kings of American support. The $10,000,000 credit to Finland was planned weeks before the Red Army marched. Licenses for Finnish arms authorized in the month of October approximated the total purchases of the USSR for the preceding ten months.

When the Soviet Union took the bull by the horns, in protection of her own flank in the eastern Baltic, the American government crudely expressed its chagrin. The fable of the deliberate bombardment of civilian populations was invented to facilitate the moral embargo on the USSR. Aluminum and molybdenum were placed on the blacklist; American corporations were compelled to break their contracts for the construction of gasoline-cracking plants in the Soviet Union. The Navy stepped out of the way to permit the shipment of forty-four Brewster planes to Finland. Norway was granted a $10,000,000 loan by the Export-Import Bank; similar help to Sweden was rumored. Ex-President Hoover joined hands in the "let's help Finland" campaign: the most class-conscious spokesmen for American capitalism confirmed by their loud alarums our own estimate of the crucial meaning of the issue of Finland.

The simple recital of these extraordinary, sensational departures from the previous policies of the New Deal hardly emphasizes the full dimensions of the Roosevelt initiative. F.D.R. had gone a long way toward American participation in this war by the passage of the Neutrality Act on November 4; but the anti-Soviet moves of the past ten weeks involve commitments of a bolder, more far-reaching sort.

Washington, as well as Downing Street, appears to have reckoned without the host. The fantastic jubilation over Soviet military "weakness," intended to break down the average man's justified respect for the Soviet Union, has outsmarted itself. The Red Army appears already to have achieved its central objectives: the immediate threat to Leningrad on the Karelian Isthmus is rebuffed; in the Petsamo region, the Red Army is safely entrenched. In the central zone, Soviet forces suddenly emerge through the frontier mountains and now dominate the valley that leads to the Bothnian Gulf.

The firm Soviet notes of January 5 to Norway and Sweden have tended to sober the Scandinavian ministers. The Soviet apology for the accidental bombing of the few islands countered ex-Foreign Minister Sandler's assault upon Swedish neutrality in the Riksdag last week. Reports multiply of disturbances behind the Mannerheim Line; Swedish workers are resisting the unusual hysteria of the Social Democratic newspapers. While supplies and men seem to be crossing the border, there is reason to believe that the Swedes are weighing the consequences of open hostilities with the USSR. F.D.R.'s initiative becomes more decisive than ever.

At home as well, Roosevelt reckons without the host. Far from being buffaloed by the press barrage, the American people are suspicious and sullen. The hypocrisies of the fund collections for Finland are too glaring; the contrast with the fate of Czechoslovakia and Spain too compelling. The spectacle of F.D.R.'s adventures on the shores of Lake Ladoga when hunger stalks the shores of Lake Erie brings home some fundamental lessons. Hendrik Willem Van Loon will organize bridge parties for Finland; but collection boxes among ten thousand Chrysler plant workers in Detroit last week brought about $7 in change. Congressmen are getting mail protesting the loan proposal: instinctively people sense that Roosevelt is gambling with *their* lives. He places on the roulette table stakes which are not *his* to wager.

Congressional reluctance to authorize the $25,000,000 swap of surplus cotton for French arms to Finland thus anticipates the suspicion and wrath of the people. The Republicans shrewdly declined to accept the President's bi-partisan offer. F.D.R. did not dare ask for the loan in cash; his subterfuge does not shine as an example of executive bravery. Of curious but fundamental significance is the attitude of the *Wall Street Journal* and the National Association of Manufacturers. Part of their opposition to the loan arises out of a residual distrust for Roosevelt. In essence, however, they consider his proposal premature. They want more time to profit from the wartime trade; they seek further opportunities to achieve preeminence in Latin America and the Far East. Far from differing with the President's intention, they feel the ground insufficiently prepared, the moment inopportune. Above all, they fail to see in the loan any profit for themselves; after all, $32,000,000 of their Finnish bonds are still outstanding: why throw good money after bad?

The loan proposal is desperate and ominous, irrespective of whether it passes. It provides rare insight into the future of the Roosevelt foreign policy. The President discloses himself as the farsighted spokesman for American imperialism, recognizing fully the coincidence of its interests with the larger need of keeping the imperialist world order afloat at all costs. Defenders of his policy become the defenders then, not merely of *American* imperialism, but of imperialism *as such*. In these terms the issue must be placed, and fought.

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John Bull Peddles a Gold Brick

A "new kind" of Munich is planned by England and France to liquidate the "new kind" of war on the Western Front. Uncle Sam as sucker. Those hot chestnuts again.

THERE is no longer any dispute, outside of a few liberal conventicles, as to the issues of the war in Finland. For once the Communist and capitalist press are in perfect agreement, the *Daily Worker* and the New York *Times* reading like obverse sides of the same intaglio. Months ago the Communist press pointed out that "little democratic" Finland, now the tool of Anglo-French imperialism, was previously the trusty dagger of Nazi Germany. Today the *Times* editorially reproaches Hitler for "deserting his Finnish friend and protege" while the New York *World-Telegram* boastfully relates that "Britain and France had sent $40,000,000 worth of war supplies to Finland before Russia attacked her." For months the Communist press has been trying to convince people that Finland was the spearpoint of a new Anti-Comintern to replace the one which was shattered by the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Today the capitalist press takes the wind out of Communist sails by blandly proclaiming that fact in leading editorials. Only the *Nation* and the *New Republic,* his capitalist majesty's loyal liberal opposition, are still clinging to the old line.

While the embattled liberals are holding the Mannerheim Line, history—including the history of little Finland, little Sweden, little England, and little old USA—is being made right under their noses. A diplomatic coup which promises to be as momentous as the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact is being engineered at Washington. American capital has suddenly dropped the mask of isolation and is throwing its full weight into the other war which Britain is nursing in Finland: the War to Make the World Safe Against Socialism. As a result we may expect a radical change in the strategy of the two parallel wars now going on in Europe—the war between Anglo-French and German imperialism and the war of the capitalist world against the only socialist state.

TWO HALVES OF ONE WAR

The common denominator of the strategy in both these wars is that so far neither of them has been allowed to develop into a fullblown "real" conflict. The explanations given for what the public calls the "phony" war between Anglo-French and German imperialism have been even phonier than the war. The real reason for two half-wars in Europe instead of one whole "real" war is the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. These two conflicts are but the two halves of a whole war which Chamberlain tried to forge at Munich and which was split into its constituent halves by the Soviet-German Pact. But it would be a mistake for Communists to imagine that the results of the Soviet diplomatic triumph are irreversible. It is still the publicly declared hope of capitalist diplomacy "to merge its two wars into one." In other words, it hopes to unite the whole capitalist world, including Germany, Italy, Japan, and above all the United States, into a Greater Anti-Comintern. And strangely enough, it is the perverse, Machiavellian design of Soviet diplomacy to prevent this blessed event.

This Asiatic disinclination of Soviet diplomacy to seeing all of its enemies happily united, this mystic Slav reluctance of the Red Army to fight the whole world at a time, may be deplorable but it was an incurable characteristic of the cowardly Red leaders while they were still at Smolny Institute. The debate about "Socialism in One Country" which agitated Communist leaders at that time, and which Trotskyites have made so much of since, was not an abstract discussion of the purely economic problem of building socialism in Russia. Given time and Russia's vast resources, there was nothing inherently impossible about that. It was a concrete discussion as to whether the first socialist state could withstand the inevitable military and economic attack of the encircling capitalist world long enough to permit the building of socialism within its borders. Lenin's solution of this congenital problem of Soviet diplomacy is on record. Instead of scurrying to Machiavelli for explanations of Soviet foreign policy one might consult Lenin, who said, in his "Speech to the Moscow Nuclei Secretaries":

> Until socialism triumphs all over the world, as long as from an economic and military standpoint we are weaker than the capitalist world, we must adhere to the rule that we must know how to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists. Had we not adhered to this rule, every one of us would have been hanging from an aspen tree to the satisfaction of the capitalists. We gained our chief experience in this respect when we concluded the Brest treaty. It must not be inferred from this that all treaties must be like the Brest treaty or the Versailles treaty. There may be a third kind of treaty, one favorable to us.

Since socialism has not yet "triumphed all over the world," and since "from an economic and military standpoint" the Soviet Union is still "weaker than the capitalist world," Soviet diplomacy has clung to the Lenin formula. Shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin found (not to his surprise) that Russia's Anglo-French "allies" and her German enemy were cooperating to overthrow the first socialist state. He split the Anti-Comintern of that day by signing the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany. In 1920 there was the united anti-Soviet front of the White Guard border states—Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Poland and the White Guard Russian imperialists, backed by Britain, France, and the USA. Lenin broke that up by signing Brest-Litovsk style treaties with Finland, Poland, Latvia, and Estonia, giving them tempting territorial concessions. In 1921 Lenin broke the capitalist world's economic blockade which had succeeded the military intervention by his New Economic Policy, an economic Brest-Litovsk, an integral part of which was the offer of lucrative concessions in Soviet industry to American, British, German, and Swedish capital. This was a far greater "compromise" with fundamental socialist principles than either Brest-Litovsk or the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. But it achieved its object. In 1922, when the hope of an imminent German revolution was finally liquidated by Noske and Ebert, the Soviet leaders looked at the political map and signed a treaty at Rapallo with the Social Democratic murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Unofficially this alliance also embraced the fascist murderers of Matteoti.

GREAT BRITAIN'S GAME

For a decade Soviet diplomacy prevented the formation of a worldwide anti-Soviet front by playing off the underdogs of Versailles, Germany and fascist Italy, against the more dangerous Anglo-French masters of Europe. The Nazis' rise to power with the benevolent blessings of Britain changed the diplomatic map again. It must not be forgotten that Britain encouraged the rearmament of Nazi Germany not merely as a weapon against the Soviet Union, but in order to end the post-Versailles hegemony of France and restore the balance of power—which meant British ascendancy in Europe. France, alarmed at the growing Anglo-German diplomatic friendliness which reached a climax in the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935, sought to insure itself against British desertion. The Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact of 1935 was directed against a potential Anglo-German pact.

When the British-backed rearming of Nazi Germany had succeeded in ending France's hegemony over Europe and restoring British ascendancy, British diplomacy was enabled to concentrate on its other major objective—the organization of a four-power pact, of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, against the Soviet Union. British capital hoped to compose its growing differences with German capital at the expense of the USSR and at the same time eliminate the inflammatory existence of a socialist state in the capitalist world. This attempt of British diplomacy to merge its potential war with Germany and

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its potential war with the Soviet Union was frustrated by the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. As a result, British capital found itself with two potential wars on its hands—the immediate quarrel with its German rival and the more fundamental, unfinished business with the Soviet Union dating from the old intervention period of 1918-20.

CAPITALIST COUNTERSTROKE

The Soviet-German Pact was one of the most brilliant diplomatic strokes in history; but many observers, both on the left and the right, made no allowance for the possibility of a capitalist counterstroke. They saw a situation in which the rival capitalist imperialisms bled each other to death while the Soviet Union picked up the pieces. But the diplomats of both imperialist blocs were not blind to the danger of unleashing a "real" war while the Soviet Union stood on the sidelines. Equally dangerous for Anglo-French imperialism was a "real" war against the Soviet Union while Germany stood on the sidelines. A war against both Germany and the Soviet Union was ruled out by the Anglo-French bloc's limited military resources. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact confronted the Allies with a fateful dilemma, which Anglo-French diplomacy solved by a diplomatic stroke as original and unexpected as the Soviet-German Pact.

Chamberlain's reply to the Soviet-German Pact was a non-aggressive war against Nazi Germany and an aggressive "peace" against the Soviet Union. Faced with a dilemma, Anglo-French diplomacy chose neither alternative, but held on to each, just short of unlimited war. This of course was only possible because Germany confronted the same dilemma. Thus they were all able to match the enviable freedom of action which the Soviet Union had won as the result of the Soviet-German Pact, and to reserve an irrevocable decision on their two fronts until a more favorable diplomatic situation developed.

NEW TYPE OF WAR

By mutual consent a "new kind of war" was discovered on the Western Front. It suits the diplomatic experts to allow the military experts to claim the credit, but the military experts have not succeeded in convincing the public. The American press is loyally cooperating with the British Foreign Office but from time to time the cat slips out of the bag. Thus, on January 8 the New York *Times* carried a dispatch from Copenhagen declaring, "The prevailing nervousness [in the Scandinavian countries] resulted because the continental war had not really begun." One explanation which the military experts give for the "new kind of war" is that the general staffs know it would take a million lives to smash the Siegfried or Maginot line. However, this unusual concern of the general staffs for human lives is fundamentally diplomatic. The main objective of the present war phase is not to lose diplomatic freedom of action, i.e., to keep open the possibility of changing partners in the dance of death. The bombing of London or Berlin, the loss of a million British, German, or French lives would end such a possibility.

Somewhat different considerations are shaping the "peace" waged by the Anglo-French bloc against the Soviet Union. The Allies cannot risk a full-scale war against the USSR while the German military machine is poised intact behind the Siegfried Line, a dangerously unknown quantity. So they are waging an indirect war, through third parties; one little nation after another is to be moved to the front without the prime movers irrevocably committing themselves until they judge the moment ripe. Thus Finland has been moved in the north and Turkey is being primed in the south. But the Finnish fascists would not have consented to move into the firing line without assurances that others would follow. The next move is not difficult to figure out. A Copenhagen dispatch to the New York *Times* (January 16) makes it plain:

> If the Russian army should cut Finland in two by driving across to Torneo on the Gulf of Bothnia . . . a section of [Swedish] military opinion holds that it would be much better to fight now than after Finland had been conquered.

It is instructive to contrast Social Democratic Scandinavia's belligerency toward the Soviet Union with its cooperative spirit toward Nazi Germany. Denmark, for example, occupies the same strategic position in relation to Nazi Germany that Finland does in relation to the Soviet Union. But the Nazis did not have to negotiate a mutual assistance pact with Denmark to protect themselves against the possible use of that nation as a base for an attack on Germany. Without any of the publicity which accompanied the Soviet efforts to achieve security in the Baltic, Nazi Germany in the very first years of power secured complete military and naval supervision over Danish defenses. There was no resistance from Denmark; indeed, the Danish press was forbidden to give publicity to a fact which is known throughout Scandinavia.

SWEDEN AND GERMANY

Sweden, on the other hand, occupies the same strategic economic position toward the German military machine that Denmark occupies geographically. When the Soviet-German Pact was signed there was a lot of horrified speculation in liberal circles on the extent of the economic aid that the Soviet Union *might* give Germany. The most extreme guessers suggested a million tons of oil and a similar amount of wheat and fodder—roughly 4 percent of German consumption in both categories. Sweden never signed any pacts with the Nazis but for years it has been supplying Germany with more than 50 percent of its iron ore, more since the war started. The political significance of this is all the greater in view of the fact that the Social Democratic Swedish government owns a controlling interest in the nation's iron mines.

The first intimation of British objectives in Scandinavia came in the usual oblique English (to use a pool term) way. Early in the Soviet-Finnish negotiations, London dispatches stated that the Soviet Union had demanded of Norway the cession of the Atlantic port of Narvik. The report was promptly denied in Oslo. It soon became apparent which power was casting a calculating eye on the Scandinavian ports. On January 8 a New York *Times* dispatch from Copenhagen declared, "If the Allies are planning blows at Russia, Scandinavia will resist attempts to use its territory. The only way a 'Western power' might obtain bases for military purposes is by resorting to violence." It is interesting, however, that Scandinavia's belated concern for its neutrality came only after Nazi Germany cast a disapproving eye on Scandinavian flirtations with the Allies. The Nazis figured that if the Allies secured military bases in Scandinavia they could be used against Germany as well as the Soviet Union.

But Scandinavian protestations are not very convincing if we are to judge by Anglo-French reactions. On January 5 the New York *Times* carried a dispatch which stated that "Sweden and Norway may become battlefields whether they like it or not." The *Times* five days later printed a detailed discussion by the military expert of the Paris *Temps* urging that:

> . . . it would be all advantage and no risk to blockade Murmansk in the Soviet north and by naval action in the Black Sea divest Russia of her oil wells. French-British land forces . . . could land at Petsamo and coordinate their efforts with those of the Finns. . . . All these actions of course would be tantamount to war with Russia but now is the time to examine in a purely objective manner the consequences of such steps by the two Western powers in the near future.

On the same day Chamberlain announced that "Britain's aid to Finland would be no mere formality."

One is struck by the difference between Anglo-French reaction to the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland and to the Soviet action in Finland. Both Britain and France went out of their way to make it clear that they did not consider the Soviet occupation a warlike act, though their "guarantee" of Poland gave them ample diplomatic reasons for considering it such. As recently as last October, Chamberlain and Halifax found it politic to construe the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland as the USSR's advance to a rightful ethnographic frontier conceded it in 1920 by the Allied Supreme Council—the Curzon Line. Neither Britain nor France is bound to Finland by mutual assistance pacts such as they had with Poland. Yet within a few weeks after the outbreak of Soviet-Finnish hostilities the Allies have initiated warlike steps against the Soviet Union and are in fact deliberately trying to provoke the Soviet Union to break officially with them. As a London dispatch to the New York *Times* (January 3) ingeniously declares, "The British have given the Russians plenty of reaso-

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on which to base a diplomatic break if they wanted one."

Liberals would no doubt be satisfied to accept this Allied partiality to Finland over Poland as merely proving that Chamberlain and Daladier prefer Sibelius to Paderewski. But Communists must perforce look for other reasons.

As I have already pointed out, the Allied strategy has been to avoid getting embroiled in a first-class war with either Germany or the Soviet Union as long as one of these two stood by on the sidelines ready to pick up what was left of the antagonists, to the advantage of either fascism or socialism. On the other hand, a war with Germany and the Soviet Union at the same time was precluded by military limitations. Hence the Allied policy of waging a non-aggressive war against Germany and an aggressive "peace" against the Soviet Union, and waiting for some favorable change in the diplomatic wind. Judging by the Anglo-French change of tactics, that favorable wind has struck their sails. The British and French imperialists, who a few weeks ago felt themselves too weak to tackle both Germany and the Soviet Union, have suddenly been emboldened to challenge the very danger which they hitherto tried so desperately to avoid.

Of course the answer will be supplied that the Red Army's performance in Finland has revealed that the Colossus has feet of clay—that since one Finn is a match for forty Soviet soldiers, one Frenchman is a match for forty Finns, and one Englishman is a match for forty Frenchmen, it would obviously need only a squad of his majesty's royal fusiliers to drive the Red Army across the Urals. But the British and French intelligence bureaus know better than to believe their own propaganda. A new factor has entered the situation, enabling the Allied General Staff seriously to consider launching a very real, oldfashioned kind of war against the Soviet Union before its "new kind of war" with Germany has been won. That factor is not "little Finland" but little old USA.

WARMONGERING AT WASHINGTON

Recent developments at Washington clarify much that was obscure in the international situation. The administration's attitude helps to explain the Soviet-Finnish crisis. It becomes plain that if the State Department had not given the Allies secret promises of support against the Soviet Union, they would not have been bold enough to give the Mannerheim clique an assurance which impelled it to provoke an otherwise hopeless conflict with the Soviet Union.

Washington showed its hand very early. At the beginning of the Soviet-Finnish negotiations, President Roosevelt, who had made no diplomatic representations to Germany, Britain, and France during the German-Polish crisis, intervened with a note to President Kalinin of the Soviet Union. In the very first week of the Soviet-Finnish hostilities the President, who had not protested the bombardment of Warsaw in which some fifty thousand civilians were killed, rushed a note to Moscow requesting its assurance that civilians wouldn't be bombed. Financial arrangements, *completed before the hostilities,* gave the Finnish fascists a $10,000,000 loan from the government Export-Import Bank funds; the installments which Finland paid on the loan we granted General Mannerheim for services rendered against the Soviet Union in 1918-20 were put at Finland's disposal. Planes being built for the U. S. Navy were turned over to Finland in violation of an ordinance that no latest-model planes (less than eighteen months old) be sold to a foreign government. The administration is now trying to cajole Congress into voting an additional $25,000,000 loan—a procedure which, as Senator George of Georgia pointed out, is like "sending a battleship to Finland." During the last war, be it remembered, no government loans were made to the Allies until the United States was actually at war with Germany.

The reaction of the tory press to Roosevelt's Finnish policy is illuminating. The papers that called the President a "warmonger" on the occasion of his "Quarantine the Aggressor" speech, which sought to build an anti-war front, enthusiastically support him now that his warmongering is directed against the USSR. On the crest of his anti-Soviet policy the President has risen to a peak of popularity with a press that was 90 percent against him in the heyday of his progressive activity. Now all his sins are forgiven. He can have anything he wants, even a third term, provided he leads the march on Moscow.

The effect of Washington's international orientation is reflected more sharply every day in the dispatches from Europe. The Scandinavian countries have already been told by the Allies that, like it or not, they will be battlefields in the coming anti-Soviet war. But according to dispatches from Oslo, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, the Social Democratic governments of Scandinavia not only "like it" but are impatiently awaiting *der Tag*. The

Dreiser on Finland

THEODORE DREISER has refused to bite at the Mannerheim bait with which Herbert Hoover is doing some intensive political fishing. The great American novelist has written a stinging reply to a telegram he received from Fred Smith of the publicity division of Hoover's Finnish Relief Fund, Inc., asking him to write a three-hundred-word article for distribution to twelve hundred newspapers. Bruce Crawford, well-known West Virginia liberal editor, received from Dreiser a copy of the telegram and letter, and sent them on to NEW MASSES, with the comment: "I second his sentiments." The letter follows:

Dear Mr. Smith: As is generally known, I hope, I am not just another American propaganda sucker.

Relief for the Finns might be well enough in its way provided there had been any relief for the bombed and starved *democratic* Spaniards in Spain in 1937 and 1938. Did Mr. Hoover speak for them then? And was any American relief undertaken? Or for the Mussolini-murdered Abyssinians in 1934-35? Any American money or supplies for them then or for the Chinese—old, young—women and children—consecutively murdered and still being murdered by the Japanese since 1933 and on? Not any that I know of. On the contrary we continue to arm Japan—not the Chinese—and no propaganda against that.

As bad as anything that I recall is the fact that in 1932 when the American Veterans of the World War invaded Washington to demand financial relief for themselves, their wives and children (that was the worst year of the depression) it was Mr. Hoover who turned out the army with tanks and machine guns to dislodge them! And since, I have not heard him or any of his political or economic associates pleading for financial equity for the millions of jobless and starving Americans in our North, South, East, West. On the contrary the cry now is (1) for economic if not military relief for the poor Finns, (2) economic and financial relief for our financiers and industrialists—their banks and corporations, families—less taxation, that is, but by implication as well as by fact more taxation for the masses. And while I have read of Mr. Hoover speaking for less taxation for the corporations, I have never heard of him speaking for less taxation for the masses. And as for taxing the labor saving machines, which throw out men and women, and so pour constantly increasing profits into the pockets of their owners—taxing them so much per manpower according to the number of human workers they displace—a tax I have advocated for some time—not a word from anyone. Yet the justice of it is obvious—and far more important than pouring more American millions into more European wars the while Americans starve.

In view of this I beg leave to suggest adding one more slogan to our already very large American collection. It is this: *American relief for Americans first.* It will aid some ten or fifteen million miserable Americans as opposed to a possible million of Finns, if so many. For certainly the entire three million Finnish population cannot be down and out already. If our papers do not lie, and, of course, they never lie, it is the Russians who seem to need help against them.

P. S. Let me repeat that I am not just one more American (or is it British?) propaganda sucker.

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Turkish earthquake has stalled the southern plans of the Allies. But General Weygand, who was rushed to Poland in 1920 to rebuild the shattered anti-Soviet front, is now busy in the Near East organizing a southern flanking move against the USSR to cooperate with the northern flanking move through Scandinavia.

Chamberlain's Munich dream which was dispelled by the Soviet-German Non-Agression Pact has gone west. Efforts are being made to engineer a super-Munich at Washington which will have the chief advantage of Munich—the elimination of the world's only socialist republic—without the disadvantage (to Britain) of making concessions to Germany as a bribe for its help. And the United States, instead of Britain, will pay the bills—as in the last war. With American help, Britain and France can even consider the possibility of eliminating their German rival while they realize their twenty-two-year-old dream of abolishing the menacing example of a socialist economy in the midst of the capitalist world. In fact, a synchronous war on Nazi Germany will be useful as a means of keeping organized labor in Britain, France, and the USA in line with anti-fascist slogans while organized capital concentrates on destroying socialism in its birthplace. The opposition in Congress and among wide sections of the American public to the $25,000,000 Finnish loan shows that America is awakening to the dangerous drift of the President's foreign policy. But we must not underestimate the influence of the unregistered "foreign agents" in the State Department. American capital was the last to make peace with the Soviet Union. It may be the first to declare war.

ALTER BRODY.

A. Redfield

"Don't capture any more today, Junior. Mr. Hoover complains they're eating their heads off."

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The State of the Union

THIS DEPARTMENT, which NEW MASSES presents weekly, is the joint work of a group of correspondents who send us a letter each week telling about the state of their part of the nation. As more correspondents write in, our coverage will increase. We invite our readers to send their contributions of significant happenings, anecdotes, etc., to "The State of the Union," NEW MASSES

God and the Yanks

One of the listeners to Mike Quin's West Coast CIO radio program—a deeply religious person—sent in a long letter detailing the Bible's condemnation of capitalists, and closed by raising the following startling slogan: "Scram, employers, scram! God is my only employer."

The Yanks-Are-Not-Coming Committee, 24 California St., San Francisco, is reviving the "minute men" idea of the last war. Minute men appear before clubs, theaters, dances—everywhere—make hit-and-run one-minute speech packing a terrific wallop. Idea is that union meetings will get accustomed to it as a regular feature. The chairman will say, "And now the minute man is here from the Yanks-Are-Not-Coming Committee." The "minute" speeches will carry a punch and a kick so that they will be eagerly looked for. This was a terrific war propaganda weapon in the last war. The Yanks are going to beat them to the punch this time—against war.

By Michigan's Waters

Governor Dickinson, the praying mantis, apparently claims the monopoly on prayer in Michigan. At any rate, when a group of Detroit mothers attended his church to pray for strength to survive the $2-a-week food pension the state had forced on them, he rudely informed them that "God's temple is no place for this sort of thing."

To which at least one pastor, the Rev. Edward W. Greenfield of Hillsdale, made reply: "I must protest that God's temple is the place for considering the problems of human beings! . . . People have asked for bread; to give them a prayer instead is to give them a stone."

But the governor proclaimed himself unmoved by the appeal. To emphasize the point, he and his Republican economizers took another crack at the crippled children, who were already practically wiped off the books as a state responsibility last year. This slap was a left-handed one—though it must be admitted that the boys hit equally well with left and right—in that it drastically reduced the fees to surgeons for operations which the children need if their condition is to be at all improved.

Boola-Boola for Nutmeg Rights

Something new was born in this historic state of Connecticut last week when a broad committee was created to defend the Bill of Rights and stand prepared to oppose violations of civil liberties. Occasion for the creation of the committee was the fourth annual conference of the Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation which took place at the Yale Law School, New Haven.

From the start of the meeting it was clear that two thoughts were uppermost in the minds of the speakers and delegates present: keeping America out of war, and preserving American civil rights. These thoughts were put in concrete form by approval of the following resolution:

"With war threatening the world, events today clearly show an alarming growth of intolerance and bigotry accompanied by increasingly serious attempts to curtail civil liberties as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

"One example is the procedure of the Dies committee which, under the guise of investigating un-American activities, is acting as an unofficial and irresponsible arm of darkest reaction.

"Another example of the threat to civil liberties must be recognized in certain attempts recently made to silence political organizations such as the Communist party. Without in any way expressing agreement with political principles involved, it cannot be overlooked that the suppression of the political rights of any minority is the first step towards undermining the democratic rights of all people, as experiences in other countries have proved."

The conference was attended by delegates representing many thousands of Connecticut people, including delegates from CIO and AFL trade unions, many churches, Negro groups, youth organizations, professional people, many foreign language organizations, and representatives from rural areas in the eastern section of the state.

East and West of the Hudson

Those sophisticated New Yorkers who think the last remnants of the Ku Klux Klan were dispersed in 1923 by Walter Lippmann's editorials in the old *World* should ferry across the Hudson some time. For the Klan rides again in New Jersey. Hardly a month goes by without the burning of crosses and the issuing of terrorist manifestoes to Negroes and the foreign born, agitators and radicals. The same *Star-Ledger* that carried a five-hundred-word distortion of James Dugan's NEW MASSES review of the chauvinistic *Gone With the Wind* also carried a story of the burning of three crosses near Union City by "white-robed men" who also scattered leaflets warning against Negroes, aliens, and so on.

Peace sentiment in Newark, N. J., can hardly be termed militant, but it is solid about two things: that America should stay out of the war, and that we should give aid to neither side. However, it may become militant at any time. Public reaction against the proposed loans to the Finnish warlords was so strong that even the local press did not champion them. And the New Jersey *Herald News,* the state's oldest Negro paper, has attacked the "lying and crazy-quilt pattern of propaganda in the present war" and attributes it to Mannerheim's connection with American, British, French, and German capital.

Moreover, a poll being privately conducted in Newark shows that most people believe the press and radio are lying about the Soviet-Finnish situation. Asked why, most say in effect: "Well, you read one story and it says that the Russians haven't got any shoes and overcoats and are wearing only thin underwear, and then you read another story, or maybe you hear it over the radio, that the Finns captured a Russian base which had four hundred pairs of boots, six hundred heavy overcoats, and twelve hundred pairs of gloves in it. Yessir, and you never hear of any Finns being killed, just Russians, sixty thousand every day."

Further indications that the people are not being taken in by the Finnish propaganda is that in local theaters Hoover is roundly booed when the Finnish relief-fund trailer comes on the screen, only a few brave souls daring to applaud. In three weeks the Finnish relief fund, headed locally by three directors of the Fidelity Union Trust, has collected only $300 from all of Newark's theaters where collections are taken up nightly. Bosses in the shops are also passing the hat and nothing could develop class-consciousness among the workers more.

Most wistful figure of the week locally was Ralph E. Lum who heads the Fidelity Union Trust campaign fund for Finland. He is also a member of the state legislature. Thursday he dropped into the Communist Party headquarters to try to get his name removed from their leaflet (*Mr. Fidelity Union Trust Goes to Finland*) which is flooding Newark. He tried unsuccessfully to convince the leaders of the party he was a true friend of the working man and not the bankers' boy. Why, he is reported to have said, "The insurance company I work for is really working for socialism." His biggest shock was the sight of the twenty thousand leaflets which are yet to go out.

Catholic Dissension

Throughout the Midwest, particularly in Toledo and Detroit, Polish Roman Catholics are up in arms over the Vatican's war policy. Poles resent the pope's concern about non-Catholic Finland as contrasted with his comparatively lukewarm attitude towards Catholic Poland during its fight against the Nazi invasion. Many Poles are refusing to contribute any money to the Catholic Church that might go to the pope. A similar defection from Catholic ranks in the United States occurred after Monsignor Tiso's sellout of the Slovakian Catholic people with the Vatican's okay. Spanish Catholic churches outside of the southwest have been well-nigh empty since Franco's "holy war" on the republic.

Additional irritant is the domination of Polish clergy by Irish and German hierarchy here. Many Polish churches have had their Polish mass prayers switched to Latin (which they don't understand) and their Polish pastors replaced by chauvinist American priests.

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The Men Who Fake the News

George Seldes introduces the foreign correspondents who poison the wells of truth at their source. By their blunders ye shall know them. Exriga Helsinkiwards.

COMPARED to the colossal lie about Soviet bombing of civilians—upon which the Red-baiters of the world have built up their sympathy for Mannerheim Finland and upon which President Roosevelt, ex-President Hoover, and others have launched a hysteria in America which clearly leads us towards the war—the thousands of smaller lies, falsifications, and distortions look pale and unimportant, but it is worth noting a dozen or more of them.

Harold Denny—the ex-liberal, or perhaps still "liberal" correspondent of the New York *Times* in Helsinki—reported on January 13 that the "severest air raids since December 1" occurred on January 12; nine planes "dropped fifty bombs on the city, killing two persons," and four hundred planes raided Finland: "reports received thus far tonight of bombings today all over Finland list thirteen dead . . ."

Any war correspondent with any knowledge of war must realize that it is absolutely impossible to use four hundred planes in bombing raids on civilians without a resultant tens of thousands of casualties. Perhaps Mr. Denny knows it also, so he hastens to put in a propaganda smear against his new enemy, the USSR: "As seems inevitable in Soviet bombing," he says, "the victims were civilians, including women, and predominantly of the humbler walks of life."

Mr. Denny had perhaps struck the right note. I do not know if the *Times* is run like the Chicago *Tribune* and other papers where orders indicating the owner's policy are sent to the correspondents, who toe the boss' line if they want to get their money. But whether or not Denny got orders to continue in this manner, it is obvious that he did. The next day a thousand-word story makes it appear that the Soviet aviators single out their fellow proletarians for killing. "The chief sufferers," he reports, "have been private citizens—predominantly workers." Mr. Denny goes on:

> Bombs have hit . . . private homes, hospitals, schools, churches, railroad trains, etc. . . . It is possible that some military objectives have been hit. . . . It is as if an ironical personal devil sat at the bomb levers in these Red planes and directed the missiles at the lowly and helpless.

This is editorial, not news, reporting. It is an attack, not a story, and Mr. Denny knows it. He repeats President Kallio's statistics on casualties and apparently his unconscious tells him that 234 dead in hundreds of raids gives the lie to his and other atrocity-mongering. So he writes angry editorials and bolsters them up by trying to give "several reasons why the land which calls itself a proletarian democracy is waging this rather horrible form of warfare against democratic proletarians," and he guesses that the Soviet aviators are trying to terrorize the Finns, that they are very inaccurate, that they are afraid of anti-aircraft fire, and "the fourth reason probably is the don't-care spirit of aviators, who have so many bombs to drop and drop them wherever they may hit and then go home."

THE SOVIET AIRMEN

If I had not seen and heard something about the few Soviet aviators who fought for loyalist Spain, I too might fall for this kind of reporting, but I have it on the authority of one of the three American military observers in Spain—I regret that I cannot at this moment completely identify him—that the Soviet aviators were better than the Germans and Italians; that they were brave, fearless, and chivalrous; that they were superior as men and as fighters; that they indicated—and so my informant reported to the U. S. War Department—that the USSR had one of the greatest air services in the world.

Mr. Denny gives us, as news, not only hatred and editorials but nonsense as well.

One can perhaps charge to ignorance the statement made by R. L. Duffus, *Times* book reviewer, who on January 14 writes that "Stalin's planes began killing babies in Helsinki." Mr. Duffus perhaps has read only the fake stories in the New York press and certainly he wrote his review weeks before publication. But what can one say of the *Times'* managing editor, Edwin L. James, who was my colleague in the press section of the American Army—G.-2.-D., GHQ, American Expeditionary Force in France—and should know something about both war and the news. Mr. James finds it "ridiculous" that a nation of 180,000,000 with an army of four million was unable to "crush" a people of four million with an army of 300,000. This is of course one of those half-lies which is worse than a lie. The *U. S. Army and Navy Journal* of Dec. 30, 1938, states that "as a matter of fact the entire Russian invading forces number only 200,000 men," which is a smaller force than the mobilized Finnish army of 400,000, most or all of whom are at the front.

Mr. James is sensitive to the good name of the *Times* and the reputation of the entire American press, as his testimony in the case of the Newspaper Guild against the *Times* (charging unfair labor practices, coercion of employees, espionage, etc.) clearly showed. He writes (January 14):

> Following the lead of the *Daily Worker*, the NEW MASSES this past week led off with an article trying to prove that the Russians had dropped no bombs on civilians in Finland. That was just a dirty "capitalistic" lie and nothing more. The eyewitness' reports were fabrications, the hundreds of photographs of the damage done to civilians in Finnish cities were all fakes, the newsreels were just the same.

I have never disputed the figures which the *Times* and the Finnish government have given of civilian casualties—and I deplore death and suffering even as much as Mr. James does—but I say again that there has never been an attack by air against civilians and the news columns of the *Times* prove it. The eyewitnesses have lied if they reported anything except air attacks in which some bombs fell short or overshot the mark; the photographs have been fakes, and the newsreels which show a house hit cannot tell you that the bomb which did it was intended for an arsenal in the same bombing range. To repeat for the last time: an air raid intended against civilians, only one of which has ever been carried out on the scale equivalent to the Soviet bombings of military objectives in Finland, caused 28,000 casualties in Barcelona. The casualties in Finland were seven hundred in five or ten or fifty times as many raids. They were all, without exception, accidents of raids directed at military objectives.

THE "TIMES" ON SPAIN

But perhaps Mr. James knows nothing about what happened in Barcelona. He had employed three men in Spain: William P. Carney, Herbert Matthews, and Lawrence Fernsworth. Carney favored Franco to the extent of sending cables naming the gun emplacements in Madrid; he later faked the news about Teruel and the *Times* published his outright lie. Matthews complained that he was intimidated and terrorized by the *Times* editors, and Fernsworth (a Catholic who told the truth) was forced to resign by this same Mr. James who now completely disregards the code of ethics of the American Society of Newspaper Editors by writing biased, partial, unobjective editorials in favor of one side in a foreign war.

The *Times* has also published all the rumors which the Hearst press, the New York *World-Telegram, Post, Sun,* and all the other Red-baiting papers have published. For example:

> "Seven Soviet flyers reported volunteers with the Finns." This was called "unverified reports," but it got in.
>
> "Soviet use of gas charged." This came from "the North Finnish front" to the Copenhagen *Tidende.*
>
> "Paris Press Reports Revolts of Russians." This came from the Fournier News Agency in Paris. Would Mr. James, when he was Paris correspondent, have sent out a Fournier item without verification?
>
> "Russian Desertions in Poland Reported." This also was Paris, but from "the Polish-Hungarian frontier." This sort of frontier reporting is of course nonsense—when it is not malicious fraud.

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In the present situation the Associated Press and United Press have rivaled the Hearst International News Service in editorializing, distorting, and perverting the news—thus breaking the Hearst monopoly of many years. One of the worst examples was the UP dispatch of January 15 (which was probably used by hundreds of UP subscribers). I quote from the story on page 1 of the *Times,* January 16, which said in the first paragraph that Finnish officials alleged there was "a methodical wave of terror against women and children, hospitals, and workers' districts" in the series of Soviet bombing raids. In this same story, paragraph 5, it is stated that "the aerial bombardments of the last week, the Finns estimated, have killed eighteen persons." In the eighth paragraph, which again refers to this week's bombings, the UP story states: "The Finns, asserting that the Russian bombers were directing their attacks against communications and war industries, said they must have more fighting planes from abroad. . . ."

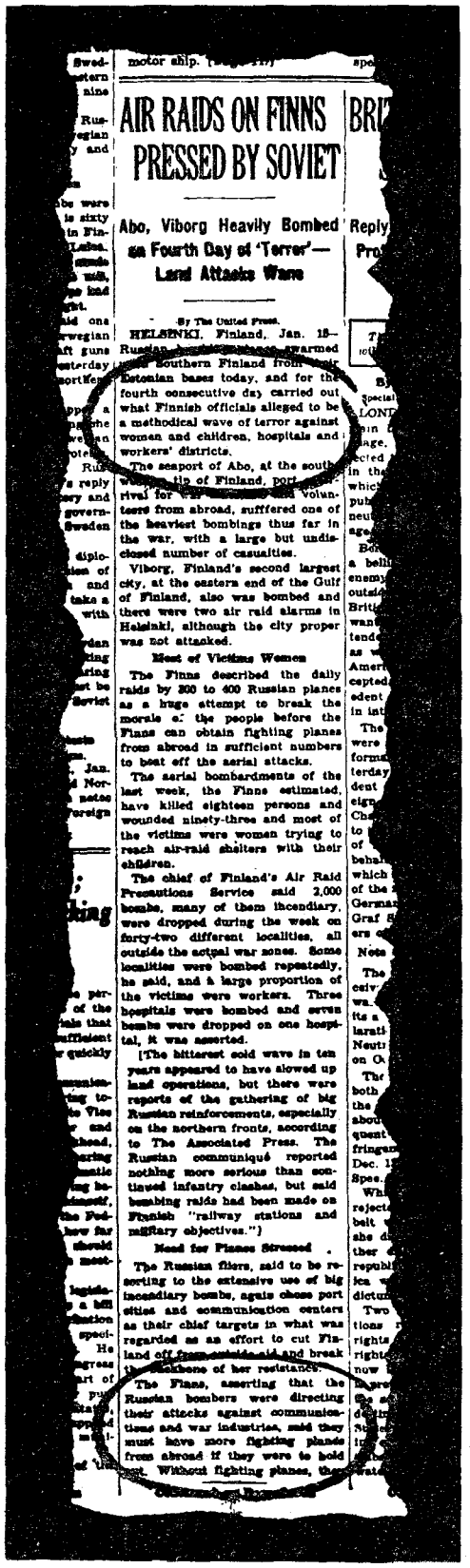
CHEATING THE READER

It seems to me that even a layman who knows nothing of the art of journalism and the art of faking the news must realize that this story is both propaganda and a lie, that the United Press has defrauded its subscribers, and that the *Times* has defrauded its readers by using the item. The Finnish claim of terror against women, children, hospitals, and workers (in paragraph 1) and the Finnish admission that the bombing is against communications and war industries (paragraph 8) in the very same story constitute one lie. This item, in my opinion, is one of the worst lies of the Finnish war. The Finns lied; the United Press disseminated their lie; the New York *Times* published the lie on page 1. And I will wager a solid gold copy of the Code of Journalistic Ethics against a UP or NYT brass check that neither the UP nor the *Times* will retract this self-evident lie.

Now let us look at some of the *Times'* less "accurate, reliable, and truthful" colleagues:

The New York *World-Telegram's* big war headline on January 5 was: "REPORT FINNS TAKE SALLA." The story came from the United Press. The town was reported captured after a two-day fight. But on January 7 the United Press had the Finns trying to capture the same town of Salla, and on the 15th the news agencies were still reporting the fighting as twenty or thirty miles *west* of Salla.

The New York *Sun* (which shines for all reactionaries) had its main story (from the Associated Press) January 4: "FINNISH TROOPS PUSH TEN MILES INTO RUSSIA." The Soviet government issued an official communique saying that no Finnish troops had crossed the frontier and that there were no Finnish troops on Soviet soil, but of course the *Sun* and other pro- or pre-fascist sheets do not believe anything out of Moscow. However, Webb Miller of the United Press cabled immediately that it was all a mistake: the



AIR RAIDS ON FINNS PRESSED BY SOVIET

Abo, Viborg Heavily Bombed on Fourth Day of 'Terror'—Land Attacks Wane

By The United Press.

HELSINKI, Finland, Jan. 15—Russian [illegible] swarmed over Southern Finland from their Estonian bases today, and for the fourth consecutive day carried out what Finnish officials alleged to be a methodical wave of terror against women and children, hospitals and workers' districts.

The seaport of Abo, at the south[illegible] tip of Finland, port[illegible] rival for [illegible] volunteers from abroad, suffered one of the heaviest bombings thus far in the war, with a large but undisclosed number of casualties.

Viborg, Finland's second largest city, at the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, also was bombed and there were two air raid alarms in Helsinki, although the city proper was not attacked.

Most of Victims Women

The Finns described the daily raids by 300 to 400 Russian planes as a huge attempt to break the morale of the people before the Finns can obtain fighting planes from abroad in sufficient numbers to beat off the aerial attacks.

The aerial bombardments of the last week, the Finns estimated, have killed eighteen persons and wounded ninety-three and most of the victims were women trying to reach air-raid shelters with their children.

The chief of Finland's Air Raid Precautions Service said 2,000 bombs, many of them incendiary, were dropped during the week on forty-two different localities, all outside the actual war zones. Some localities were bombed repeatedly, he said, and a large proportion of the victims were workers. Three hospitals were bombed and seven bombs were dropped on one hospital, it was asserted.

[The bitterest cold wave in ten years appeared to have slowed up land operations, but there were reports of the gathering of big Russian reinforcements, especially on the northern fronts, according to The Associated Press. The Russian communiqué reported nothing more serious than continued infantry clashes, but said bombing raids had been made on Finnish "railway stations and military objectives."]

Need for Planes Stressed

The Russian fliers, said to be resorting to the extensive use of big incendiary bombs, again chose port cities and communication centers as their chief targets in what was regarded as an effort to cut Finland off from outside aid and break the backbone of her resistance.

The Finns, asserting that the Russian bombers were directing their attacks against communications and war industries, said they must have more fighting planes from abroad if they were to hold out. Without fighting planes, the

EIGHT INCHES DOWN. *One of the most stupid and transparent fakes about the Finnish war is shown above. On its front page of Jan. 16, 1940, the New York "Times" prints the lead about Soviet bombers carrying out "a methodical wave of terror against women and children, hospitals, and workers' districts." In the same story and on the same page, it blunderingly prints its own contradiction: "The Finns, asserting that the Russian bombers were directing their attacks against communications and war industries, said they must have more fighting planes from abroad if they were to hold out."*

names of two lakes had been confused, one ten miles inside the USSR, the other within Finland, and no Finn had crossed the border. Did the *Sun* then print a two-column, front-page retraction? Your guess is right. And as for my old pal Webb Miller of the UP, I have a suspicion that he printed the truth this time to catch his hated rival, the AP, in a fake.

EDITORIAL LIES

It has been customary for critics of our press to say that editorial opinion should be confined to the editorial page, and the news columns must remain free. This is of course impossible, but it can be approximated. But what shall one say of the editorial page of the *World-Telegram* which on January 13 gathered numerous lies, fakes, and rumors of the war, all of which contained the words "it is reported" and "it is rumored" (which at least discounted them for newspapermen), and published them as an editorial without even the hypocritical weasel words? The chief mouthpiece of Roy Howard, the hypocrite who drove Heywood Broun out of his paper and then issued a fulsome statement when Heywood died, headed its editorial "General Dumbness." It began by saying that Stalin, "having purged the weather man," has "personally taken charge"; he is "seated in his well stocked commissariat back in Moscow." The implication is so pusillanimous that only an editorial writer who had just received a new shiny brass check for his conventional $2 could have thought of that one. Then follow the phony news items given as facts:

> Recall for trial and liquidation of 105 Red officers.
>
> Removal—probably just below the ears—of . . . Mikhail Kaganovitch.
>
> The parachute act is tried again and Russians in squads of fifty are picked off by Finnish riflemen.
>
> Booklets on *How to Ski* are found in captured Russian supply wagon. The theory being perhaps that it's never too late to learn.

On December 12 the *World-Telegram* launched a campaign under the editorial heading "Help Finland." It declared that "we think it is literally true that helping Finland will—*help America.*" The *World-Telegram* made no such proposals to help Spain. Nor does it help its own employees, who have had the fight of their lives trying to get Mr. Howard to pay Newspaper Guild wages on all his papers. Decent wages, like charity, might begin at home, but not when the Howard pocketbook is concerned.

THE OLDER FAKES

I have already stated that there have been more lies in the present war than for any similar number of days in modern history. Now let us look at the "old" lies—of the vintage of December 1939.

Sibelius was "rumored" killed in the air raids, by the *World-Telegram* of December 1. On the same day the *World-Telegram* sank a Soviet warship with the aid of the Associated Press. The New York *Post* gave the

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Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* credit for Sibelius' death. A day later, of course, Sibelius made the usual denial, and the warship story also proved false.

A newspaper which pretends to follow the code of ethics disregards rumors, but the *World-Telegram* made a one-column box of one on December 5. It was an Associated Press dispatch from Stockholm saying that there was "a rumor here which could not be verified" that a map was circulating in the USSR showing Scandinavia in the possession of the Soviet Union. (Under an Associated Press rule a newspaper which might complain of wasting tolls on rumors is liable to fine and firing; this is known as a *cooperative* news agency.)

On December 7 the fake came from Copenhagen, a dispatch to the *Times* saying the Finns had raided Murmansk and destroyed sixty Soviet airplanes. This was the main story of the day, the headline: "FINNS ON OFFENSIVE, RAID ENEMY BASES," and it was a lie—but it was a good story, so it was published.

TOO MUCH FOR GEDYE

Throughout the conflict the Stockholm and Copenhagen lie factories have kept two twelve-hour shifts at work. Stockholm, December 7, supplied the UP and the *World-Telegram* with a fake story that twenty-one Soviet pilots had been executed by the OGPU, and the Finns furnished a fake about the Soviet using poison gas shells. On the 14th the *World-Telegram* sank the Soviet cruiser *Kirov* with the aid of the Stockholm *Aftonbladet*. The Hearst papers, which as usual outlied all their colleagues, reported that: "PLAGUE HITS RED ARMY," and Webb Miller cabled that the Finns claimed they had accounted for 350 tanks in twenty-two days. From Stockholm and Copenhagen came almost daily stories of unrest in the Soviet Union and finally a mutiny in the Red Army. But this was a little too much for even Mr. G. E. R. Gedye, the liberal from Austria who turned out to be anti-Soviet when the *Times* assigned him to Moscow. Mr. Gedye cabled the *Times* that "stories from Stockholm broadcast without confirmation from London tonight concerning mutinies of Russian troops and desertions and disorders in Leningrad and Moscow seem devoid of any foundation. Moscow, at any rate, is absolutely normal and there have been no reports of any tension in Leningrad."

Here is another minor matter, two items from the *Times:* The first, December 22, is headed, "CHIEF OF SOVIET ATTACK IS REPORTED DISMISSED"; the second, December 23: "RED ARMY CHIEF IN FINLAND GETS POLITICAL PROMOTION." The first story concerns Gen. K. A. Meretskov; the second none other than Gen. Kyril A. Meretskov. The *Times* used only a paragraph but the *Herald Tribune* (city edition) had a five-column headline: "MOSCOW HEARS RUMORS OF PURGE IN ARMY."

Of course there was no malice intended there, just a little misinformation. But what about the Hearst *Journal and American* of December 22, which published a picture of Stalin next to some horrible photographs of bombed, mutilated, dead school children, and gave readers the impression that these were victims in Helsinki? These photographs have a long history. They are those of the school children of Getafe, in loyalist Spain, who were killed by Hearst's fascist colleague Franco, and were first published with honest captions. But a year later Hearst published the same photographs with fake underlines blaming the loyalists for the death of the children; now they are used again by Hearst, to smear the Soviet.

The New York *Daily News* published the following copyright dispatch:

REPORT OGPU
SLAYS "COWARDS"
By Donald Day

(Copyright 1939 by News Syndicate Co., Inc.)
Helsinki, Dec. 11—Failure of another attempt by the Russian Army to penetrate the Mannerheim Line near Taipalejoki resulted today in a machine-gun slaughter of scores of faltering soldiers by special OGPU troops.

The Soviet soldiers were mowed down when they refused to renew the charge after being repulsed, according to information received here. . . .

What is the source of this fake story? It is simply "according to information received here." And that means nothing. Every fake and fraud that has ever been published in the world has been hung on some sort of nail. The big fakes are hung on "foreign office sources," as were Duranty's fakes of 1919 and 1920 about the victories of Generals Wrangel, Yudenitch, and company, but the little fakes are blamed on "well informed" or "reliable" sources.

The case of Donald Day poses a difficult problem for me. For years he was my colleague on the Chicago *Tribune* and both of us sent stories almost every day which were unfriendly (to say the least) to the Soviet government. The *Tribune* wanted no other kind of stories. If a man came into the office with two items, one favorable and the other unfavorable to the Soviet, we bought only the unfavorable one because the other would be a waste of cable tolls. If a man had documents for sale damning the Soviet, we bought them, and if, a year or so later, they turned out to be forgeries, we never mentioned the fact. Not only Donald Day and I, but Floyd Gibbons and the Paris office and every office and correspondent of the *Tribune* did the same.

The case of Donald Day is complicated, however, by the fact that he has a personal grudge against the Soviet. In 1919 or 1920 when the American government was deporting many persons to the USSR, Donald married one of the deportees and went to the border to share her exile. I do not know whether he was then sympathetic to the USSR, neutral, or an enemy, but I do know that the Soviet suspected him, the more so because he was then working for Hearst, and refused him a visa.

From that time on Day swore he would get even with the Soviet, and from that day on he has been sending out every rumor and fake story in the Riga press as news to America. Moreover, he had got the job of correspondent for the Northcliffe and now the Rothermere *Daily Mail* of London, a paper which pays a pound for each item attacking the Union and wants no items either favorable or factual. So all the enemies of the USSR in Riga have for twenty years supplied Day with falsifications and rumors, which have been disseminated throughout the world.

In 1936 Day sent out a story saying that Browder had ordered the Communist Party of the USA to support President Roosevelt, and that the order was published in Moscow. The Chicago *Times* called the Chicago *Tribune* and Mr. Day liars, and backed its

Recuerdo del 15 Brigada

Now that the torn battleflags
Have reached harbors of memory

Already the many names fade
From among the broken ranks

Who they were and why they came
How often and why did they die

The memory of voices reconcentrates
Into the folds of silent banners

Motionless the survivors stand
More evocative than tombstones

Among the long recollection of
Those who will not come back

There are no last words to speak
Strong as the eloquence of death

Motionless the driven banners
Pull fading memory back into names

There are no munition lathes exact
Enough to machine Infantry hearts

Flags fortify the battlements of hope
Light the dark highways to the future

Along which we march, drawn inside
The irresistible memory of those whose

Resistance coiled the multitudinous
Steel springs of our final victory.

JAMES NEUGASS.

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statement by offering them $1,000 if they could disprove it. The offer was not taken up.

RIGA FABLES

For twenty years the decent and honest press of the world has known that Riga has been a lie factory with the Soviet Union the victim. For twenty years the Chicago *Tribune* has published falsehoods about the USSR. Its Paris office forced a colleague of mine to quit writing a series of articles favorable to the USSR and write an unfavorable series. When he demurred, saying he would prefer to keep silent instead of changing his views to suit the office, the head of the Paris office threatened him with the loss of his job. But all this time the New York *Daily News* had been wary of the news service in which it had a half-interest and more frequently than not omitted the falsehoods about the USSR. It is interesting to note that nowadays it is printing the same Donald Day news that has made the Chicago *Tribune* suspect for twenty years.

Then there is the matter of that monumental lie sent out by the Havas agency of Paris, the allegation that Stalin made a speech before the Polit Bureau saying he hoped "the war would last as long as possible so that the belligerents should become exhausted." Stalin called the Havas agency a liar. But this is not the first time this has happened.

The Havas is a peculiar institution. It is a private money-making corporation interested chiefly in advertising, on which it has almost a monopoly in France. It is also the semi-official news agency of the country and gets a subsidy from the French government. In addition to that it takes bribes from foreign governments, and no one knows this better than the USSR. In 1917 there were found in the czarist archives documents proving that an agent named Raffalovitch had bribed the Havas agency and every newspaper of importance in Paris and the provinces (except the socialist *l'Humanite)*. However, he became so disgusted that they would not stay bribed, but asked for more money, that he used the phrase "l'abominable venalite de la presse" in one of his letters. These documents have been published in a book using the phrase for a title.

Yet every American news agency and every American correspondent in France get a large part of the daily budget of news from the fifty French newspapers (which were bribed) and the semi-official French agency (which was bribed) and this news is sent to the American people as straight news. There is no help for it. The Havas is the only big agency in France and it would be impossible for the Associated Press, for example, to place correspondents in every large French city. The AP, incidentally, for years had an exclusive exchange agreement with Havas, including all those years in which the latter was being bribed by the czarist government to pervert the news about Russia.

GEORGE SELDES.

This is the third of four articles by Mr. Seldes. The fourth will appear in next week's issue.

Dean Landis on the Diesmen

The Harvard Law School dean knows a perjurer when he sees one. What Landis' report says about Dies' star witnesses.

DEAN LANDIS' report on the Harry Bridges deportation case did more than put an end, for the time being at least, to the efforts of American Legion officials, Associated Farmers, etc., to smash West Coast Unions by sending their leaders "back where they came from." The report, with its scorching description of faked testimony and lying witnesses—some of them the Dies committee's chief witnesses—has sharpened public awareness of the methods used by Martin Dies and his associates to break unions and besmirch innocent people.

The story is current in Washington that the publication of Landis' findings on January 1 led to sweeping last-minute changes in the Dies committee's report released a few days later. Not only is the Landis document said to be responsible for the "mild" tone of the committee report; it is also regarded as a factor in the committee's suppression of a report which was to have painted Hollywood red, with plenty of paint left over to use on everyone in California who has ever denounced the Associated Farmers. But not even the publication of a mild report by Martin Dies can conceal the fact that the many thick volumes of his hearings are put together of hearsay, out-and-out lies, and political chicanery of the cheapest kind.

Most of Dies' witnesses have been exposed and denounced before, but chiefly by journalists and amateurs with a passion for justice. Dean Landis brings to the job a lifetime of expert knowledge of law. As an author of legal textbooks, former chairman of the SEC, and dean of the country's most important law school, he was well qualified to serve as trial examiner in the Bridges case. Those same qualifications lend weight to his indictment of witnesses who appeared before him after they returned from a visit to the Dies committee.

Chief among the West Coast bearers of tales of red riot and ruin to lay at the feet of Martin Dies was Harper L. Knowles, blustering chairman of the American Legion's Radical Research Committee. Knowles, according to Landis, had been in the pay of the Associated Farmers. His committee:

> had close working arrangements with the army, the navy, the State Bureau of Criminal Identification, police departments, sheriffs' offices, the State Peace Officers Association, immigration inspectors, private detective agencies, manufacturers, labor and industrial associations, farmers' protective associations, chambers of commerce, and civic, fraternal, and other veterans' groups.

With the cooperation of this united front of reaction, Knowles maintained:

> . . . an elaborate index . . . with reference to individuals and organizations deemed to be radical. Hundreds of informants scattered throughout the state . . . supplied the central office with data on the doings of radicals and agitators in their various vicinities. . . . Knowles also had intimate contacts with the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the Associated Farmers. The exchange of information that went on with these two associations, particularly the former, was even more extensive. . . . The committee also worked in cooperation with the special agents of public utilities, telephone, railroad and steamship companies, particularly with the chief special agent for the telephone company in San Francisco. Wire and wireless dictograph equipment was also available to the committee.

Flanked by his attorney (into whose hands Dies thrust the conduct of the committee's hearings), and armed with packed briefcases of material from his bulging files, Harper Knowles arrived in Washington in October 1938 and consumed three days of time in presenting some 250,000 words of "evidence." It took over three hundred pages of the Government Printing Office's small type to transcribe the extraordinary flood of patriotic verbiage, accusations, and slanders unloosed by Knowles and his attorney. To describe the extent of this deluge of misinformation is impossible. Shirley Temple wasn't mentioned—J. B. Matthews had already beaten them to it—but almost everybody else in California was. It is interesting to note that the hearings were so timed that they took place just two weeks before election day. That helps to explain why everybody except Republicans were called "Communists," or "part of the radical element," or simply "aliens."

Knowles received a warm reception from the congressional Red-hunters; he delivered the stuff they wanted and he had it in wholesale lots. There was nobody around to ask such possibly embarrassing questions as "Who paid your expenses to come here and testify, Mr. Knowles?" or "Are you still on the Associated Farmers payroll?" Harper Knowles and his attorney had an ax to grind. The Dies committee was happy to act as whetstone.

When Harper Knowles appeared before Trial Examiner Landis in the Bridges case he left some of his bluster and piles of his phony documents behind. His documents could not be used as evidence because they might not stand up under the searching scrutiny to which they would be subjected. His testimony, unlike the sweeping positive statements he had given Martin Dies, was cautious and cunning. He had been helping to direct a four-year-old campaign to "get" Harry Bridges, but now that he had his chance to present proofs in a formal hearing he conveniently developed lapses of memory on important points. He couldn't remember, he couldn't recall, he had forgotten, he wasn't sure. In his report Landis says of Knowles:

> At the 1936 Convention of the American Legion, an alleged report of the legal adviser to the De-

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partment of Labor was circulated quite widely among the members. That report reviewed Knowles' correspondence with the department, concluded that the type of evidence he submitted was wholly worthless, that the department had no evidence upon which to proceed against Bridges, and criticized Knowles' attitude as prejudiced and his language as "intemperate and overbearing." . . . He was neither a candid nor a forthright witness. His memory tended too frequently to become beclouded when answers might have proven to be too revealing. Recollection, even when it existed, tended at times to be suspiciously faulty. Because of these tendencies it becomes necessary on occasion to disbelieve him. . . .

Landis also said of the Dies witness:

. . . Knowles lapsed into his customary aphasia. . . . It was impossible to listen to Knowles' two accounts of this incident without being convinced that on occasion he lied when he dared to, and conveniently forgot matters when an outright denial might make for subsequent embarrassment. . . . The circumstances of that contact are clouded in the mist of Knowles' memory. . . . There is abundant evidence to indicate that the work of Knowles' committee came perilously close to that of those organizations whose sole effort is to combat militant unionism. . . . Indeed, the close alliances that existed between Knowles' committee and the powerful employer associations lead to the conclusion that Knowles . . . was frequently made the tool of their policies.

So much for the West Coast's No. 1 patriot confronted with the necessity of bringing his crusade against Bridges down to earth. When Knowles came down to earth, or a little lower, he brought with him a fellow Dies committee witness, Capt. John J. Keegan, chief of detectives of Portland, Ore. Landis points out that "Knowles' relations with the Portland Police Department were particularly intimate," and Keegan was one of those with whom he made common cause.

When Keegan appeared in Washington on Dec. 7, 1938, to pay homage to Martin Dies and to brand Bridges as a Communist, he traveled on funds supplied by the mayor of Portland. Like Knowles he brought with him a pile of documents for the delectation of the Red-hunters. Among them were affidavits from John L. Leech, Herbert Mills, and Arthur Kent. It is worth considering these affidavits, for each of the men who signed them was prominent in the Bridges case.

John L. Leech (found guilty of forging a postal money order some years ago) was one of the principal witnesses in the Bridges prosecution. Landis is almost brutally frank in describing his testimony:

Leech was afflicted with verbal hemophilia. It seemed impossible for him ever to answer straightforward questions simply. Much of this was equivocation following upon Leech's being caught in earlier misstatements. . . . One is driven to the conclusion that not only was Leech mistaken but in the light of his subsequent definitive assertions his testimony in this respect was both untrue and false. . . . It is impossible accurately even to summarize this day and a half of testimony by Leech. In evasion, qualification, and contradiction it is almost unique. . . . One would be tempted to regard Leech's evasionary tactics as pathological in character, were it not that behind this screen of verbiage, he had a motive. . . . Leech's falsification of his relief record is to a degree understandable. . . . But he lied in other important respects which have relevance only to his testimony in this proceeding.

Keegan assured the Dies committee that the men who signed the affidavits he gave it had been investigated and were reliable in every respect. Of Herbert Mills, the author of the second affidavit, Landis says:

Mills was a ne'er-do-well laborer who thereafter in Portland, despite certain protection given him by some of the Portland police, got into difficulties with the law. At the time of the hearing Mills was not to be found. . . . [Previously Mills was] arrested for disorderly conduct and found guilty, but sentence seems to have been suspended. He then broke his leg falling through a skylight in an effort, according to Keegan, to steal beer. Recovered from this, Mills "took a shot at a fellow," was convicted of assault and battery, and sentenced to imprisonment for six months. Before this last event he gave Keegan an affidavit against Bridges. [This was the affidavit which Keegan introduced before the Dies committee.] While Mills was in jail he gave a contrary affidavit. . . . Released from jail, Mills disappeared. . . .

Keegan's third affidavit writer, Arthur Kent, is a police character of several aliases. Concerning his literary production, the Portland chief of detectives told the Dies committee: "She is a dandy. It contains your whole Communist setup in Los Angeles." At the very moment Keegan filed this affidavit Kent was serving a term in jail for burglary. That didn't bother Keegan. He said, "I have every reason in the world to believe this man. . . . Everything he told us we have proved. . . ." The Landis report has a good deal to say about Kent (alias Arthur Scott, etc.):

Keegan never met Arthur Scott. He got reports from him, however. . . . When he was informed by the Beverly Hills Police that Scott was wanted for burglary, he communicated with the Los Angeles police. . . . "I would like to ask if you will make a confidential investigation to see whether or not these are the true facts regarding Scott as to his burglary activities, as you are well aware what we are trying to do to Harry Bridges." . . . Keegan's irresponsibility under oath is revealed in connection with another incident in regard to Scott. After Scott was convicted and imprisoned, an application was made by Scott for commutation of sentence. Keegan not only filed an affidavit in support of that application but also got . . . Governor Martin of Oregon to file affidavits. Despite the fact that Keegan had never met or seen Scott, he swears in this affidavit: "I know the petitioner. . . . I am convinced from my personal observation of Kent and my knowledge of the work he has done that without him the immigration authorities would have been at a great loss to interpret the activities of the Communist party. . . . "

Captain Keegan, when it came his turn to testify, told Dies and his colleagues that "the Communist movement on the West Coast is getting to be a very dangerous . . . condition as far as our government is concerned." Members of the committee nodded in agreement as he produced the sworn affidavits from Leech, Mills, and Kent. When it had had its fill of his brand of horrors, the committee dismissed Keegan. In doing this, Dies and his investigators passed up a matchless opportunity to investigate Keegan himself, an officer of the law whose own actions might well merit the label of "un-American activities." A chief of detectives who is willing to swear false affidavits is himself "dangerous . . . as far as our government is concerned." Trial Examiner Landis shows that he is fully aware of Captain Keegan's "irresponsibility under oath":

Keegan's testimony from the beginning shows an effort to conceal his activities and the activities of his men. . . . A reason that could motivate such insistent concealment was that the means employed were in themselves disreputable. . . . To question the testimony of such a significant law-enforcement official as Keegan is a serious matter; but the conclusion is inescapable that his testimony is far from reliable. As will be seen, not only was Keegan's respect for an oath negligible, but he was again and again faced with testimony so variant from that which he had given that he was forced either to alter his original story or to make its hollowness patent by the crudeness of his subsequent explanations. . . . He is a trained police officer with years of service. Yet he swears falsely in behalf of Scott. His contradictions are both frequent and with regard to major matters, not in respect to minor uneventful details. He is required again and again to devise explanations, crude in character, when documentary evidence and other testimony directly contradict his original recitals. He misled the examiner again and again. . . . The picture that Keegan draws of himself is not one of a chief of detectives confident of the integrity of his office and the trustworthiness of his men and their tactics. . . . The Keegan testimony . . . gives every basis for indulging in suspicious inferences with reference to his department.

Knowles (professional Red-baiter for Associated Farmers who "lied when he dared to"), Leech (falsifier and liar), Mills (who "took a shot at a fellow" in one of his intervals out of jail), Kent (burglar and undercoverman), Keegan (irresponsible under oath) —it is no coincidence that these same men, in person or through affidavit, appear prominently in the lineup of Dies committee witnesses. The only unusual thing in their case is that it is possible to characterize them and their testimony in the unprejudiced words of so eminent an authority as the dean of the Harvard Law School.

As these words are written Martin Dies is begging Congress for an appropriation to carry on his investigation for another year. As bait, he has thrown out the promise that his activities will pave the way for the deportation of "seven million employed aliens."

The coming year is an election year and Martin Dies' constituents will have an opportunity at the polls to sentence him to the fate he is storing up for the aliens. But in the meanwhile the congressmen from your state ought to be told that votes by them to continue the Dies investigation are not going to be forgotten by a lot of indignant and outraged people back home.

JULIAN WEBB.

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NEW MASSES
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The "Christian Front"

THE Dec. 26, 1939, issue of this magazine carried an article by John L. Spivak entitled "Silver Charlie's Stormtroopers." Above the masthead, on the front cover, we referred to that article with the expression, "Coughlin's 'Christian' Front." This magazine, with all the strength it could muster, brought to America's attention the terroristic nature of Coughlin's organization.

We said (and the New York *Times* as well as all other great journals ignored our declarations which were backed by documentary proof) that when Father Coughlin launched his anti-Semitic campaign, he urged his followers to establish "platoons," and that on May 23, 1938, urged that each platoon "be composed of no more than twenty-five members." These platoons are now known as the "Christian Front." Did the commercial press reprint these charges? You know the answer.

We said too, that on June 13, 1938, Father Coughlin addressed his following of Christian Fronters, saying, "You and your group are directly affiliated to me." Was that picked up by the Associated Press or the United Press? Again, you know the answer. We named names, in that series of seven articles on the Detroit priest, carried photostats of the evidence. Did any publication reprint? They did not. But what we began reverberated through the nation: telegrams, protests, demands showered Washington.

Finally, certain action has been taken. Seventeen bedraggled followers of Coughlin have been taken in custody, but the radio spellbinder—what about him? He still carries on. And what is more, the forces behind the priest, the big industrial interests who show their teeth now in the reactionary legislation sponsored by the administration, these forces carry on. The principal danger still confronts the American people.

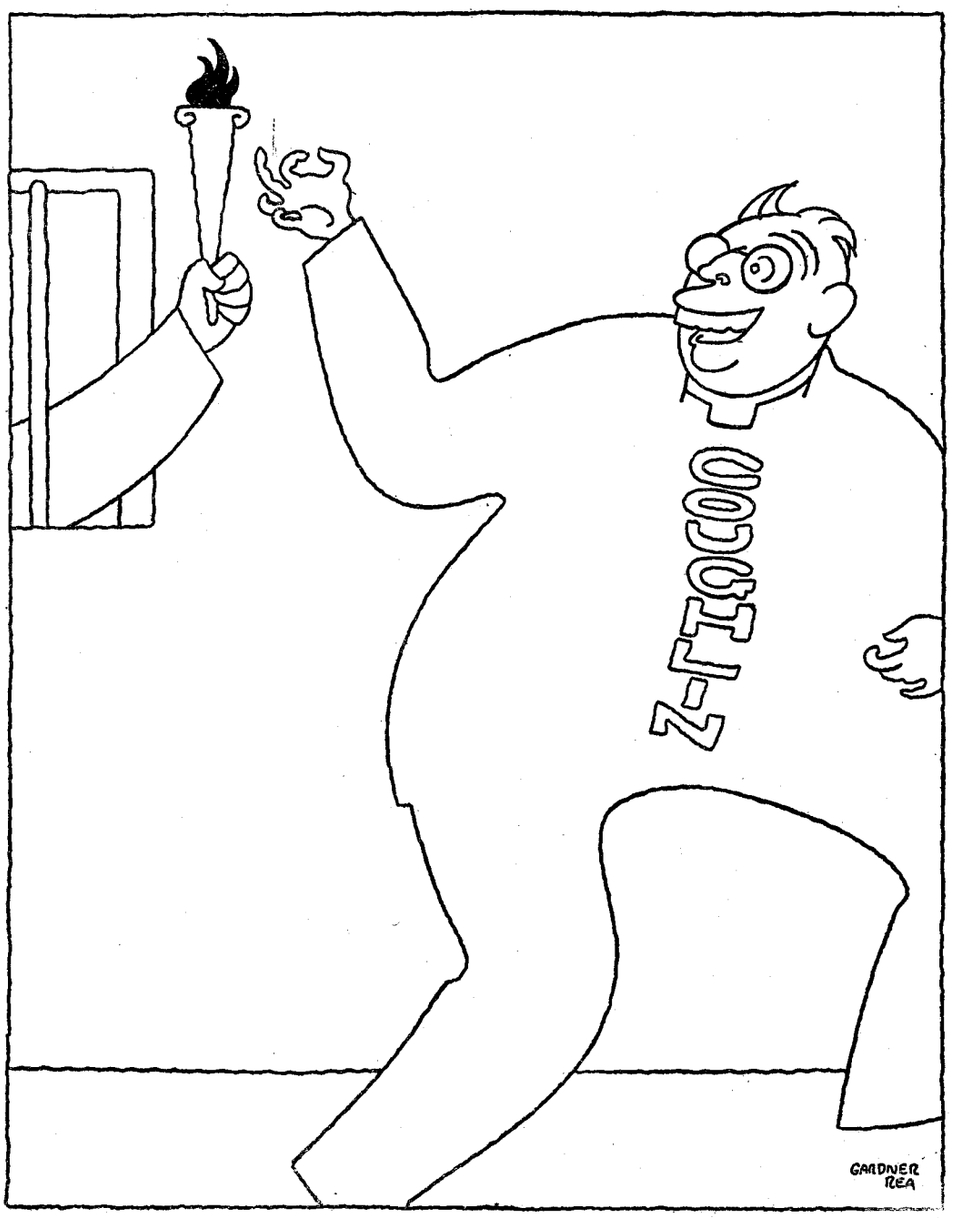
The editors of NEW MASSES are proud of the service this magazine did in sounding the warning first. We shall continue our fight come hell or high water. But we want to underscore the fact that the administration—in guise of arresting the seventeen Christian Fronters—has taken no action against Coughlin, their fuehrer. And, far from moving against Henry Ford and others behind Coughlin, the administration has gone into cahoots with them in its foreign policy, its domestic program, its attacks on civil liberties. The Department of Justice is, in effect, doing Coughlin's work. The job is being done, but genteelly, in the best Hyde Park country-squire tradition.

Coughlin (still free and unhindered) demands the abrogation of rights to the Communist Party. The administration, committed to a war policy, is abrogating those rights. It is murdering free speech in the guise of moving against "violators of technicalities." It grinds a mill of flimsy passport charges, "foreign agent" charges, etc., etc.

Coughlin battles the CIO. The administration goes hammer-and-tongs after measures for which the CIO and labor strove for many years—witness the "investigation" of the NLRB, the persecution of unionism under the anti-trust laws.

As we go to press, further facts are unearthed. The Dies committee has been voted extension of life the very day that Representative Hook, of Michigan, declared before the House Rules Committee that the congressman from Texas was "in active association with a prominent collaborator of the Christian Front." The United Press reported that Mr. Hook appeared before the Rules Committee to oppose continuance of the inquiry. "He said he wanted to present evidence about Mr. Dies' associations but lack of time prevented a lengthy presentation," the UP reported. "The Rules Committee then gave the Dies extension resolution unanimous approval."

That's how things are going in this fair land today, the beginning of the 1940's. Progressives who warn of the administration's swing to the right are no Cassandras, conjuring up woeful prophecies. They are realists and they read the signs and portents aright. The arrest of seventeen followers of Coughlin can scarcely halt reaction. The administration itself has become the worst violator of the spirit of democracy. Men driving for war want no spokesmen for peace.



Fuehrer Kuhn Hands on the Torch

Gardner Rea

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Whereof Churchill Speaks

IN ONE sense, Mr. Churchill's remarkable radio address last weekend was simply whistling in the dark. Assurances of how British commerce blossoms, how overwhelming is the strength of the British fleet, how strong by comparison with Germany's are the Allied economic reserves, will be recognized as an effort to soothe the home front. For the British and French peoples know full well at what cost to themselves their ruling classes carry on the war. Rationing, wage reductions, eradication of democracy comprise the "sure" foundations on which Mr. Churchill and his friends develop their war against fascism.

The invitation to neutral nations to join in the war against Germany "in accordance with the Covenant of the League" will call forth Homeric laughter from the gods of war. What supercilious irony it takes to rally Europe under the banner of the League after Britain and France did their utmost to undermine the League these last eight years. What nation now feels comfortable with Britain's pledge?

Insulting also to the neutrals is Churchill's evocation of the Nazi menace to their prosperity and trade. Dutch dairy produce, Danish pork, Finnish cheese, Belgian machine-tools are not finding their normal markets in England and France precisely because of the Allies' autarchic trade policies, their restrictions upon purchases of almost everything but aircraft and munitions to their own empires. True, the Nazi submarine is sinking neutral ships; but the Allied blockade works equal damage. The British are seizing exports to and from Central Europe: their open insistence upon the right to halt and search even neutral mail already causes irritation with the largest neutral, the United States. This strikes us as especially ominous, since the only way that Woodrow Wilson found of overcoming British truculence on exactly these issues in 1916 was to lead the American people into war.

Churchill's radio appeal is primarily an admission of stalemate. As such it dovetails significantly with the pope's reply to President Roosevelt the very same day. The Vatican also mourns "the slight probability of immediate [peace] so long as the present state of the opposing forces remains essentially unchanged." The pope means that if the Allies could succeed in outflanking Germany via Middle Eastern and Scandinavian fronts, to that extent would their chances improve of converting the war into a full-fledged conflict with the ultimate enemy: the socialist state. Despite its facile confidence, Churchill's speech becomes a confession of frustration as well as an omen of the future.

They War Against War

IT WAS a pretty speech that President Roosevelt made the other night before the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. But it sounded curiously anachronistic —and hollow. "You are rightly concerned," the President said, "that provision be made for those who are unemployed, whether for economic or personal reasons." Yet the Roosevelt budget cuts relief, as it does other social services, and turns the money over to armaments.

The protest movement against this war-and-hunger program is gathering momentum. It is a slow-burning fire as yet, but it may soon be a great sheet of flame. Here are a few of the organizations that have protested against the Roosevelt budget:

The CIO, American Youth Congress, Workers Alliance, Connecticut CIO Council Executive Board, Oklahoma Tenant Farmers Union (CIO), Greater Newark Industrial Union Council (CIO), Fourth Annual Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation, Akron Industrial Union Council (CIO), Duquesne Lodge and McKeesport Tin Mill Lodge of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), delegates of twenty thousand sharecroppers who met in Washington, United American Artists, Joint Advisory Board of Cigar Makers International Union (AFL), American Student Union, Theater Arts Committee, Liga Pro Democracia (League for Democracy) of San Juan, P. R., Cleveland *Union Leader* (CIO), Des Moines *Federationist* (AFL), *Voice of the Federation* (Maritime Federation of the Pacific—CIO), *Midwest Labor* (CIO), *Timber Worker* (International Woodworkers of America).

And here are some that have demanded a policy of strict neutrality in opposition to administration efforts to align this country with the Allies:

The CIO, National Student Federation, American Student Union, United Student Peace Committee, National Association of Medical Students, John L. Lewis, seventy-five prominent social workers, one hundred AFL and CIO officials in western Pennsylvania, Connecticut CIO Executive Board, Congressman John Coffee of Washington, crew of *President Cleveland,* Student Executive Council of the University of Colorado, Fourth Annual Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation, the newly incorporated Mothers Mobilizing Against War, Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Keep America Out of War Congress, National Council for Prevention of War, World Peaceways, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Senators Nye and Borah, Akron Industrial Union Council (CIO), New Jersey Labor's Non-Partisan League Legislative Conference, Theodore Dreiser, Congressman Lee Geyer of California, National Council of National Maritime Union (CIO), International Workers Order, Goodyear Local of United Rubber Workers (CIO), Joint Advisory Board of Cigar Makers International Union (AFL), Theater Arts Committee, United Parents Association, Delegates Assembly of New York City, Oberlin College Chapter of American Student Union, Liga Pro Democracia (League for Democracy) of San Juan, P. R.

Two More Brass Checks

THE *Nation* and *New Republic* have at last discovered that there has been "exaggeration" in the capitalist press reports about the military operations in Finland. Apparently the NEW MASSES articles by George Seldes debunking the press stories on Finland cannot so easily be dismissed as "Communist propaganda."

However, to admit the full truth about what is happening in northeastern Europe would convict the *Nation* and *New Republic* of lying. They hedge and cover up in a way that does not exactly add up to the intellectual integrity of which these two lofty crusaders for liberalism boast. The *New Republic* treats the matter a bit skittishly (the duping of millions is very funny no doubt). After admitting that "there is a good deal of exaggeration and suppression in the news that reaches us about the Finnish war," and that "air bombing of civilians has not been nearly so serious as it was in Spain and China," it concludes with a gag that if Finland continues to hold out, the *Daily Worker* and NEW MASSES will be writing "that Finland had been liberated long ago" and that reports of fighting "were just a British invention." Sidesplitting, isn't it?

The *Nation* finds that "There is no doubt that the American press has been guilty of more than a little exaggeration in its presentation of Finnish news." But it cancels this out with: "Nevertheless, it seems certain that our daily press has accurately reported the main events of the war." The *Nation* then resorts to a well known if rather snide device: the "stop thief" dodge. It attacks the Soviet reports of military operations—which consisted of facts instead of fabrications—and "Soviet apologists in this country" who "are making a great to-do about the way the bombing of Finnish cities is being

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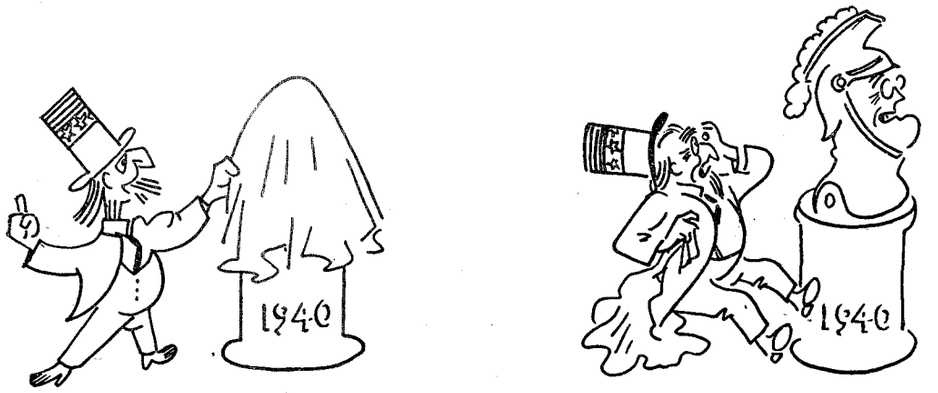

Soriano

handled in the press." It was the *Nation* which joined with reactionaries of every stripe in making a great to-do about non-existent bombing of civilians. Now, nearly two months after, it admits that "there is no clear evidence of deliberate bombing of civilians." But it follows this with a prize example of the art of weaseling out from under: "But what sort of excuse is this for the real crime, for the damning fact that Finland is being invaded at all?"

NEW MASSES has repeatedly shown (without requiring two months to discover it) that there is as little truth in the tales about "poor little Finland" as there is in the press reports about the military operations. It looks as if George Seldes will have to award a couple more brass checks.

Turkish Delight

DEVELOPMENTS in Turkey clearly indicate preparations for unusual events. Last week, the Turkish National Assembly voted its government decree powers. Both sexes are liable for compulsory military service; transport will be requisitioned and rationing undertaken in case of war. The French Marshal Weygand, strategist for Pilsudski's war against the Soviets in 1920, has been touring through the Near East since September. The Allies hope to develop a southern complement, and alternative, to the northern front against Germany and the Soviet Union now in process of crystallization via Finland.

While the British want American cash to bolster the Scandinavian slalom-specialists, they are shelling out plenty themselves for Turkey. And arrangements for Turkish territorial aggrandizement will undoubtedly be found in the secret protocols of the fifteen-year mutual assistance pact which the Allies and Turkey signed on the 19th of October. London has declined to take its usual share of the Virginia tobacco crop; Britons will be asked to put Turkish and Greek tobacco in their pipes and smoke it.

The Turks have shrewdly taken advantage of an Act of God (the disastrous earthquake over New Year's) to secure more loans and credits from The City. The total bribe now comes to the staggering total of $340,000,000: sixty million was paid out for stabilizing Turkish currency; eighty million more for the purchase of arms and the development of Turkish mineral resources. According to the New York *Herald Tribune* for January 19, $15,000,000 has been invested in the construction of the Karabug steel plant, the first of its kind in the Near East, which is already turning out armaments. "The Turks, those wonderful peasants," said Neville Chamberlain at the lord mayor's luncheon on January 8, "are facing their trials with that stoical courage which has ever been their national characteristic. And naturally, we, their friends . . . are anxious to give [them] not merely our sympathy but our help."

William E. Borah

"QUIXOTIC" is the word that comes to mind in describing the personality of Senator Borah. Yet the word hardly grasps the spirit of the man. There was nothing of the volatile in him; his were vast and rugged inconsistencies, constructed with epic syllogism, the manner if not the matter always grand. He was just as positive and magniloquent in his prosecution in 1905 of Bill Haywood and two other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners on a frameup charge of murder as he was in later years in championing such labor legislation as the Wages-and-Hours Act and opposing the curtailment of WPA.

Borah both served and fought the corporations. He introduced a women's suffrage amendment in 1910, but voted against suffrage in 1919. He approved American intervention in Mexico in 1915-16, but opposed it in 1927. He supported the first imperialist war, but opposed involvement in the second. He was an extreme isolationist much praised by Hearst, but for years he worked for United States recognition of the Soviet Union. He was an insurgent Republican, but refused to join the Progressives in 1912, backed Harding and Coolidge in 1920 and 1924, stumped for Hoover in 1928, and failed to bolt in 1932 and 1936.

He sought the Republican nomination in 1936 as a progressive, but made Hamilton Fish his campaign manager and suggested Frank E. Gannett as his running mate. He showed great sympathy for the underdog, but fought the Anti-Lynching Bill and the Child Labor Amendment.

With all due allowance for personal idiosyncrasies, the contradictions in William E. Borah sprang from a deeper core. Unlike such genuine middle-class representatives as the elder La Follette and Senator Norris, Borah reflected in acute form the conflicting pressures both of the agrarian poor and of the wealthy farmers and industrialists of the West who engaged in occasional futile forays against Wall Street. This irresolvable conflict accounts for the curious frustration in his career, its lack of constructive achievement despite his great talents. It is ironic that death should have deprived him of the one positive opportunity he might have grasped: to assume leadership of the fight against the Roosevelt administration's drive toward war.

Railroaded

AS WE go to press, news comes of the conviction of Earl Browder. The sentence of four years in prison and $2,000 fine imposed on him are a crass perversion of elementary justice. Browder was not tried because he at one time used a pseudonym on a passport, though this was the impression that government officials and the press sought to convey. He was tried for reentering the country in 1937 and 1938, after trips abroad, on a passport bearing his own name which was obtained by making what the government alleged was a false statement. The defense contended that the statement was not false and that, furthermore, since a native-born American citizen does not require a passport to reenter his own country, Browder committed no crime.

Neither the government nor citizens of the United States were defrauded or injured in any respect. Yet compare the Browder sentence with the two to two and a half years given the convicted embezzler, perjurer, and Nazi agent, Fritz Kuhn. Compare Browder's sentence with the acquittal under this same Roosevelt administration of the notorious power trust swindler, Samuel Insull, who stole millions. The hypocrisy of the Browder prosecution and conviction—the jury required only forty-five minutes to go through the motions—is so patent and brazen that no fair-minded person can deny it.

There is only one reason why the Roosevelt administration concocted this case out of flimsy evidence which it had previously ignored: it was out to "get" the leader of the Communist Party. It wants to "get" the Communist Party—whose support it at one time tacitly welcomed because it is preparing to enter the imperialist war and must get rid of the most vigorous fighter against its war plans. But it is not only the Communist Party that is under fire. The Department of Justice is preparing indictments against a number of non-Communist progressive organizations as well. It is using the anti-trust laws against the trade union movement. By attacking the Communists and others on the left it is assaulting the civil liberties of the American people, the Bill of Rights itself. This fact must be recognized by all who oppose war and fascism.

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Readers' Forum

The Truth About Finland

TO NEW MASSES: Because your publication has been the subject of an unfair attack by Mr. Edwin L. James, managing editor of the New York *Times,* in the Jan. 14, 1940, issue of that paper (sec. 4, page 3), I believe that you will be interested in an exchange of correspondence between Mr. James and myself.

On Dec. 13, 1939, there appeared in the *Times* an article describing an "Aid for Finland" meeting at which Kerensky made a speech. The writer of this allegedly news article included the following: ". . . Mr. Kerensky, who as leader of the Russian Revolution of March 1917 headed the Provisional Government that granted self-rule to Finland." I objected to the *Times* that this statement was untrue, and I also took exception to the recent custom of the *Times,* among other newspapers, of terming the war in Finland during the early months of 1918 as a "war of independence." This latter I characterized as Finnish propaganda.

As is my custom, I supported my contentions with reference to authorities. I quoted Mr. Louis Fischer (*Soviets in World Affairs,* page 89) on the first question, as follows: "The Kerensky government, whose eminent supporters were later so solicitous about the autonomy of Georgia, had refused a Finnish request for independence." To this Mr. James took time to reply as follows: "Despite what you say, we consider it a matter of record that shortly after taking power in March of 1917, the Provisional Russian Government did restore to Finland the self-rule, or autonomy, which it enjoyed for nearly one hundred years until the imperial government rescinded it in 1912. Although you quote Louis Fischer as saying that the Kerensky government 'refused a Finnish request for independence,' it should be noted that the story of which you complain did not say that the Kerensky government gave independence to Finland, but it did say the Kerensky government restored self-rule to Finland."

In answer to this, the following points may be raised: (1) Kerensky, in making his speeches at the present time, is presumably posing as a champion of Finnish independence, not merely home rule; however, let us grant Mr. James a technical point here. (2) Technicality for technicality: The first Provisional Government of Russia was headed by Prince Lwow; Kerensky became premier in May 1917; therefore if, to quote Mr. James, "shortly after taking power in March of 1917, the Provisional Russian Government did restore to Finland the self-rule, etc.," then this was obviously not the government which Mr. Kerensky headed, as per the article in question, and Mr. Kerensky cannot even pose to this limited extent; we must give Lwow whatever credit is due. (3) But there is no credit due. Not even autonomy was granted, by either Lwow or his more boastful successor. Here is the story as told by T. L. Gilmour, commander of the Order of the White Rose of Finland, in the volume *The Baltic and Caucasian States,* compiled by Maj. Gen. Lord Edward Gleichen:

". . . the Provisional Government in St. Petersburg . . . failed to enunciate any clear policy towards Finland. . . . In July the [Finnish] Diet, after a prolonged discussion, took the momentous step, without reference to the Provisional Government, of deciding the question of the future status of Finland for itself. By a majority of 136 votes against fifty-five the following resolution was adopted:

"'The powers of the monarch having ceased, the following statutes are declared to be in force by the Finnish Diet:

"'(1) The Diet of Finland alone passes, sanctions, and proclaims all Finnish laws . . . decides ultimately all questions which . . . hitherto were decided by the emperor-grand duke. The regulations of this law do not apply to foreign policy. . . .

"'(3) The Diet has the right to decide the executive power of the country. . . .'

"In Russia the declaration was very variously received—in some quarters with approval, in others with the strongest disapproval. The Kerensky government eventually sent a reply repudiating the right of the Diet to decide the matter without the consent of Russia, declining to agree to the separation of the Grand Duchy from Russia. . . ." (Pages 33-34, *The Baltic and Caucasian States.*)

Clearly, then, the Lwow government took no action, nor did the Kerensky government until the Finns, by a resolution in July, demanded—not independence, because that must include control of foreign policy and the military—but the very kind of home rule that Mr. James says Mr. Kerensky granted. But this also was refused by Kerensky, and so matters remained until the time of the October Revolution, with which, for Finland and for us, Mr. Kerensky may pass from the scene.

The next objection which I raised concerning the "war of independence" was answered by Mr. James in these words: "You attack the Finnish statement that their fight of 1918 was 'a war for independence,' and you ask 'from whom, then, did the Finns seek independence?' I think it a fair statement to say that the Finns at that time were seeking independence in a matter very analogous to that in which they are now fighting Russian troops, whose leaders contend they are simply helping the so-called 'Peoples Government' of Finland. In each case they were fighting against the domination of Russia. That should be as clear as crystal."

I have seen no authority, except Mr. James, who would deny that the Soviet Union was the first to accord recognition to Finland, in keeping with a standing principle of that government. One extremely interesting source, *Svinhufvud, Builder of Finland,* by Erkki Raikkonen, describes how the Finns, after declaring their independence on Dec. 4-6, 1918 (first the Cabinet, then the Diet), were notified by the major countries that they could not recognize Finnish independence until the Soviet Union did so. This stuck in the throats of Svinhufvud and his clique, who fancied themselves eminently respectable and were dismayed at being received in Petrograd by "a Jew," Sverdlov. However, their request was granted on the same day they came, December 31, and Lenin even consented, after much urging, to come and shake hands with Svinhufvud. The story, as told by Svinhufvud's friend Raikkonen, on page 43 following of the book quoted is worth reading.

Actually, of course, long before independence was declared or granted, the two groups in Finland were preparing for a showdown. As early as the spring of 1917 the White Guards had been training, and the Jaegers had been fighting for Germany for years just to get training as officers for such an emergency (something like the recent training of German officers in Spain). The Red Guards undoubtedly received arms and encouragement from the Russians garrisoned in Finland, but I have seen no evidence that there was any organized effort on the part of the Russian Bolsheviks to support the Red faction in Finland (they were busy stemming the German advance toward Petrograd and the Austrian advance into the Ukraine in those months). No one contradicts the function of the twelve thousand Germans of von der Goltz, or their decisive part in the conflict.

Now let me quote for you, as I quoted for Mr. James, an important passage from that excellent book by J. Hampden Jackson, *Finland* (so stupidly and distortedly reviewed in the *Times* some Sundays back):

"Middle-class writers . . . have arraigned the Finnish Social Democrats for handing their country to the Bolsheviks of Russia. . . . It is not true that they had any intention of sacrificing one jot of Finland's independence or even of imitating the methods of their Bolshevik friends. The provisional constitution which the Socialist Workers' Republic drew up contains no references to class-dictatorship or to Soviet administration. . . . It provided for a parliamentary government by a Diet consisting of the same number of members and elected by the same methods as before. . . .

"The civil war is officially known today in Finland as the war of independence, the implication being that the Whites fought for Finland's independence against Russian Bolsheviks and the misguided native proletariat. . . . Actually, each side fought for Finnish independence as they saw it. . . ." (In later pages, Mr. Jackson gives the complete story, so far not published in the *Times,* of just how the victorious Whites used the independence they won—by handing their country over to a German princeling as a protectorate, under the regency, if you please, of the same Svinhufvud aforementioned!) ". . . the struggle of January to May 1918 stands out as a civil war of Finn against Finn, the old Finland of yeomen and pastors against the new proletariat of the towns helped by the landless proletariat." (From Jackson's *Finland,* pages 89-90 and 97-101.)

I have gone into these two points at some length because I believe that if the case for Managing Editor James, representing Finland in America, can be demolished in two such important details, we may draw the inference and read his writings and the writings of those under his supervision in a new light. Certainly his article in the January 14 issue was pathetically defensive. It may be noted that Mr. James carefully omits any quotation in support of his point of view. "We consider it a matter of record," says he, "I think it a fair statement," and "That should be as clear as crystal." Could scholarship sink to a lower level?

Please consider yourself free to use any or all of this material under my name. I am glad to give any aid I may to expose the pretensions of gentlemen like Mr. James, and I am confident that I have history on my side. ELVIN ABELES.

Long Island City, N. Y.

The Only Statesman

TO NEW MASSES: At this time, when the whole capitalistic world stands between the devil and the deep sea, it is reassuring to see that in spite of capitalist criticism, lies, and pother, Joseph Stalin, undismayed, pursues the even tenor of his way, thus proving without the shadow of a doubt that he is the only statesman on the world's horizon today. The brains of Chamberlain and Daladier rolled into one would not make a lining for Stalin's cap. In the final analysis all the liars, deserters, renegades, and other know-it-alls will be served with a nice dish of crow. W. R. J.

Waltham, Mass.

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China's New Literature

Cicio Mar, editor of "Chinese Writers Monthly," describes two exciting decades in Chinese letters. War of national liberation and literary renaissance.

BEGINNING with the *Book of Poems* (circa 1200 B.C.), edited by Confucius, the first collection of Chinese folk songs to be made, the literature of our nation has continued for more than three thousand years. But it is interesting to note that the whole of the past three thousand years is much less colorful than the present two decades in the field of writing. It is true that we had a classical period in the first part of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.—A.D. 220), which was revived for a short time by Confucian scholars in the Sung dynasty (960-1260), and then a movement of romanticism in the poetry of the Tang (689-740) and Sung dynasties. Yet the only result of each was a change in literary form and language, while the basic feudal characteristics remained untouched.

The uniform feudalism of Chinese literature results of course from the basic feudalism of Chinese society. China has never produced a James Watt and consequently no Charles Dickens. . . . Old Cathay, however, was vulnerable. With the maturing of capitalism in the Western countries in the latter part of the nineteenth century, China with her undeveloped industry was doomed to become a market. . . . Galvanized into life by the invasion of foreign capitalism and its consequent alteration of the social structure, a new national capitalism rapidly grew up, but it was too weak to compete with foreign rivals. Feudalism, therefore, was no longer solely a cordon which held the country together under an emperor—now it had become an obstacle to the growth of national capitalism. Overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, which incorporated the worst aspects of feudalism, became inevitable. And the result was the nationalist revolution of 1911, which converted the monarchy into a Western democratic style of republic.

With this revolution came the revolution in literature. As the new Chinese industrialists found feudalism choking their growth, so the new intellectuals found the old *Wen Yan* language (language written only by the learned and unknown to the common people; in many respects comparable to the Latin of the Middle Ages) useless in the creation of the new writing. They said that writing should be in plain and sincere speech, coming direct from the heart, and not merely the euphuistic games of the old-style literati. So these literary innovators wrote in the language of the common people. This language reformation then developed into a movement against feudalism and the old feudal code of ethics which gave moral support to its society. The revolution was not confined to culture and economy; it soon matured into a political struggle for the construction of a new country and the regeneration of the whole nation.

The year 1919 was decisive. China had been an ally in the war and hoped that the treaty of Versailles would at the very least restore to her the territory and rights seized by the Germans. But the Japanese, by threatening to withdraw from the conference, managed to grab the former privileges of the Germans in China. This news reached Peking, and the students—sons of the new middle class—held a great demonstration on May 4. The movement soon spread to Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Kiangsu, Hupeh, and many other provinces. A general strike by all classes of the people was staged in such cities as Shanghai and Tientsin, demanding that the Peking government refuse to sign the treaty. At the same time the people asked for freedom of speech and of the press, for punishment of traitors, and for an end to secret diplomacy. In culture, the May 4th Movement became the Chinese Renaissance.

As the Renaissance grew, feudalism fell asunder. People no longer talked of "noble literature," but urged that writing should deal with the "common people"—and by the term "common people" they undoubtedly meant themselves, the newly risen urban middle class. Most of the critics demanded a realism somewhat akin to French naturalism of the early nineteenth century. Now that the monarchy had been overthrown, a new government, a new social order and, above all, a new world outlook must be established. Confucianism was considered an enemy of progress. Democracy, science, and reason were subjects of daily discussion. Young people began to talk of love and marriage—which for centuries had been ordered by their parents. Ibsen was a favorite author.

All these new problems were discussed in the *New Youth,* primarily a literary monthly. But as this period was a time of reformation and of establishing new principles and introducing new ideas, great writing was yet to come. The only memorable work from these early years is Lu Hsun's *Look Here (Na-han),* a collection of strongly anti-feudal stories.

The Chinese Renaissance, however, could not follow the lines of the European rebirth of culture. The European war ended, the Western countries again stretched out their hands to industrially backward China. The new national capitalism was reduced to a *compradore* status. And to hold their spheres of influence—or, plainly speaking, their markets—the capitalist powers had to maintain their own forces in China in the person of military lords who embodied feudalism. Thus resulted years of civil war during which the country was brought to extreme misery and poverty. The first embryo of the Chinese Renaissance was aborted.

And so the years from 1919 to 1925 were a period of wavering and depression. In 1921 a group called the Literary Study Association was formed, and a magazine, *Story Monthly,* was published. Unlike *New Youth,* there was less fiery argument and more creative writing. Authors wrote literary pieces in "tears and blood"; they exposed the evils of society and were filled with depression. Chekhov, Dostoyevsky, and Andreyev were widely read. Flaubert, de Maupassant, and Stendhal were introduced. The heritage of international literature exerted a tremendous influence on the new generation.

In 1922 another literary society called Creation was formed. Unlike the Literary Study Society, its members believed in the principle of "art for art's sake." A section of the writ-

Chinese Magazine

ONE sign of the resurgence of Chinese literature described by Cicio Mar is the appearance of a publication called *Chinese Writers Monthly,* the first two issues of which have just reached America. This magazine is the English organ of the Federation of Chinese Writers. Cicio Mar is its editor-in-chief, and the article on "China's New Literature" is a condensation of his statement in the first issue. In the articles and books of Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, and Anna Louise Strong we have read about the manifold activities of this movement on the front and among the civilian population; their enthusiastic reports are corroborated by this native magazine. Its tone is confident, realistic, hopeful. The characters in the stories are representative of the masses, submerged for centuries and at last coming into their own. These pages are alive with a great purpose. A new world is being won in the East, and the literature of China is its trumpet and prophecy.

Since the continued existence of this fine publication depends on the support of the English-speaking people for whose benefit it is issued—at what must be a tremendous sacrifice—NEW MASSES readers will want to know that the subscription rate is $2 per year, postage free, and that communications should be sent to *Chinese Writers Monthly,* care of the Federation of Chinese Writers, Chungking.

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COMING!

A

NEW MASSES

WHITE PAPER

ON THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE RECENT SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE AND GERMANY

★

A REPLY TO LOUIS FISCHER

★

BY

THEODORE DRAPER

FORMER EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT OF NEW MASSES AND AUTHOR OF A BOOK ON WORLD AFFAIRS TO BE PUBLISHED SOON BY MODERN AGE BOOKS

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ters tended to be decadent and the novel *Fallen* by Yu Ta-fu is typical of their work. Another section, however, was romantically progressive. They believed in a utopia rather than in any necessity for a concrete plan. Kuo Mo-jo is representative here, with his poem "Goddess," his play *Rebellious Women,* and his novel *Melancholy Songs of a Shepherd,* which describes how the Koreans suffer under Japanese rule.

As foreign pressure increased and the underground revolutionary movement grew, many writers in both the Literary Study Society and the Creation groups took up the ideas and theories of the proletarian revolution. Many of them joined the ranks of this new army as the clash matured, although quite a number fell back into the camp of the enemy. Kuo Mo-jo, for instance, became the head of the political department of the revolutionary army in 1926 and Mao Tun likewise became an important political worker in the anti-warlord campaign.

Stimulated by the May 3rd Incident, which broke out with the killing of a Chinese worker by the Shanghai Municipal Police and was followed by a general strike in all the big towns in China in 1925, the revolutionary army advanced northward from Canton supported by the common people throughout the country. Kuo Mo-jo advocated proletarian literature and addressed the young writers with these words:

> Each class has its own writers. Our literature must be pervaded with the spirit of the proletarian revolution. We writers of China must go to the masses, the barracks, the factories, and the very rank and file of the revolutionary army. We must create a literature that is realistic and can fulfill the aspirations of the Chinese people.

A new revolutionary realism became the dominant current in Chinese literature henceforward.

From 1927 on, left literary groups sprang up like mushrooms. In 1928 two influential left organizations of writers, called "Sun" and "We," were formed. Fierce arguments raged between them and the pragmatist scholars who had now become professors in government schools. Their leader, Dr. Hu Shih (who had been a pupil of John Dewey), no longer supported the spirit of the first literary revolution. He denied their own accomplishments by saying that they had succeeded in the language reformation and that this was the accomplishment of the literary revolution. In these polemics the new literary criticism was hammered out and guiding principles for the new writing found. Hundreds of volumes of literary criticism and stories were translated from the Russian, German, English, and Japanese. Plekhanov became the most influential foreign critic. The first concrete result of these discussions was the formation of the League of Leftwing Writers, with Lu Hsun as chairman, in 1930.

With the rapid growth of the left movement under the leadership of Lu Hsun, the intensification of the Japanese invasion, and the bitter prosecution of the domestic political war in the anti-Communist campaign, the literary struggle became more acute. A group of chauvinist writers started a movement for nationalist literature in opposition to the leftwing writers. This group was more interested in individual heroism than in a systematic national liberation plan. But the invasion of Abyssinia by Mussolini completely disillusioned them, and after the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1932 they disappeared from the horizon of the literary world, leaving no memorable writing. In other directions the Shanghai war discouraged esthetes and dilettantes and drove home the serious nature of China's problems to her writers.

In 1933 another literary group designated itself as The Third Person and professed to be above classes, neither proletarian nor capitalist. A political renegade, To Hen, became its leading critic. It advocated "superclass" literature, removed from actual society. Its words were high-sounding, but they could not withstand the harsh examination of the left critics led by Lu Hsun; and with the intensification of the Japanese pressure, this very artistic magazine went morally bankrupt.

These different groups and tendencies show how the middle class intellectuals wavered during the national crisis. On the other hand, the progressive writers, firm in their convictions and conscious of their duties as Chinese, now seriously examined every storm that swept the country. The struggle of the Chinese peasants in Manchuria against the Japanese, the fruitless endeavors of the Japanese to colonize the three provinces of Manchuria, the bankruptcy of China's national industrialists under the heavy pressure of foreign capital—all these became subjects of the new writing. Hsiao Chun's *August Village* and Hsiao Hung's *Life and Death Field* are the first epic narratives of the struggle for liberation of the Chinese people in Manchuria. Mao Tun's *Twilight* and *Spring Silkworms,* which describe the bankruptcy of China's rural economy and the ruin of the native capitalism, remain the best realistic writings China has produced, and open the new realistic school.

From 1935 to 1936, however, the entire situation changed. To fight the Japanese invader in defense of China's territorial and sovereign integrity became the universal demand not only of the masses and the national capitalists, but of the national armies and the several political parties. This demand culminated in the Sian Incident at the end of 1936 and in the formation of the anti-Japanese united front.

In answer to the common demand, all writers, irrespective of school and "ism," came together and urged the production of "national defense literature." This does not mean that the new literary movement in China, having struggled through all sorts of obstacles, has now taken a step backward in order to reach a compromise. The late Lu Hsun well said, as he lay dying before the outbreak of the war of national liberation:

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The call for a united front of writers does not mean cessation of the revolutionary literature movement, nor does it constitute an obstacle to the development of the movement. Therefore, it does not mean a cessation of the sanguinary struggle against fascists and reactionaries which we have carried on for years. On the contrary, it becomes more practical, the struggle is strengthened by unity, more inclusive, and more solidly a concrete anti-Japanese, anti-traitor fight. It does not mean that the revolutionary literature movement will give up its responsibility as a leading force, but means that it has undertaken a greater responsibility; so great a responsibility that it has to assume the burden of uniting the whole people, irrespective of their political standing and their social class, to fight against the common enemy of the nation.

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1937, the antagonism between the various schools of writers was practically annihilated. On April 27, 1938, a mass meeting of novelists, poets, essayists, playwrights, ballad writers, and village story tellers was held in Hankow, then the wartime capital. A resolution was passed for the immediate formation of a union of all writers so that all could work more systematically and effectively for the common cause. The Federation of Chinese Writers was established. With headquarters in Chungking, the Federation has branches in all the major cities.

Reviewing these past events, we see that the new literary movement in China has never separated itself from the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The first revolution of 1911, the May 4th Movement of 1919, the second revolution of 1926, and the present anti-Japanese war have each resulted in strong movements in literature. The purpose of each change, whether political or literary, has been to secure freedom and independence for the Chinese people. The movement in writing today, however, is so significant to the life of the nation and the future development of our cultural life that it can be called nothing less than Renaissance. The first rebirth was aborted, but the second, our Renaissance of today, may mature and enjoy normal life with the emergence of the new China through the bloody struggle of the Chinese people in this war of national liberation.

CICIO MAR.

Karl Marx

AN AMERICAN LOOKS AT KARL MARX, *by William Blake. The Cordon Co. $5.*

WILLIAM BLAKE'S excellent volume differs in detail and conception from those anemic popularizations which have pretended to reveal "what Marx really meant." Intended as a textbook for the American college student, this book succeeds in its extraordinarily lucid, digestible presentation of Marxist fundamentals. In his own incisive, compelling manner, Blake does justice to the grandeur and scope of *Das Kapital.*

The first seventy pages of his seven-hundred-page work comprise a historical introduction. There is biographical material on both Marx and Engels, a review of the origins of capitalist economy, the growth of manufacture and machinery, the emergence of the modern proletariat. In it will also be found the postulates of the Marxist method: twenty basic propositions which summarize with unusual lucidity the assumptions of political economy.

Then follow two hundred pages of a rigorous investigation of the central pillars in the Marxist edifice: the analysis of value, the discovery of the mystery of surplus value, the laws of profit, the function of money and machinery, the division of surplus value, the accumulation of capital, the nature of rent, the theory of crises.

Bourgeois economics is not a science at all; it cannot analyze capitalist society with any of the rigor with which the physical sciences analyze nature. It cannot become a system in the sense that Marxism is; after Ricardo, it becomes an elaborate apologetic, a psychological description and defense of the status quo; or else it escapes into the mumbo-jumbo of statistics, continually concerning itself with marginal rather than central problems. Marx is so fundamental in his method and evidence, so imposing in his total structure, that most critics have no armament with which to assault him. Indeed, much of the criticism of Marx arises out of the simple failure to have read through his three volumes.

The very heart of Marxism is its derivation of the value theorem. Ordinarily this is the most difficult aspect for the beginner. Abstract concepts of economic realities are hard to handle, although every high school student in his elementary physics classes learns to work with concepts such as force, momentum, acceleration, as a matter of course. To master this difficulty for the student, Blake calls up his best stylistic and pedagogic gifts. The great merit of the initial passage is its logical rigor, its persistence. The main line of analysis is constantly subjected to reexamination, to correlation. Minor critics are disposed of, often with delightful scorn; flanking movements are conducted on the major critics of the value theorem; Blake promises to deal with them more fully later on! These pages have all the excitement of discovery, all the tension of real debate, the fine heat of honest exertion.

The mood of inquiry into the value theorem and all that flows from it cannot be too highly praised. The author never permits precision to become the excuse for pedantry, or objectivity the occasion for dullness. His enthusiasm for his subject shines through, and animates the type, stimulating an intense desire for further study into Marx himself.

In the latter part of this middle section, Blake extends his discussion into developments of the past three decades. Especially valuable are the chapters on the Industrial Reserve Army, and on Money, Investment, and Debt. Here Blake draws upon his own training and experience: he was Public Utilities and Bond

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editor for the *Magazine of Wall Street,* engaged in banking in France for some years, operated in the Antwerp grain trade for years more. Since 1937, Blake retired to write; one does not discover except in a fleeting footnote that William J. Blake is the same who wrote *The World Is Mine* and *The Painter and the Lady,* best selling novels a while back.

Discussing political economy since Marx, there is something of a sag in the pace and quality of the writing. The treatment is hurried; one would prefer, since this is a textbook, more statistical material, more extensive discussion of the economics of imperialism, especially the economics of the general crisis of capitalism.

An American Looks at Karl Marx is ambitious enough in its primary purpose. But halfway through to its back cover it becomes a critical dissertation on the critique of Marxism. Here the author exhibits unusual virtuosity. Three hundred pages embrace a detailed exposition and refutation of the Austrian school, the German Social Democrats, the British and American assault on Marx. Blake's counter-attack is deft and imposing. This is clearly valuable only for the advanced student; often it becomes a logician's vacation, a holiday in epigrams. The final chapters comprise a satisfying discussion of the sources of Marx, as well as a brief consideration of historical and dialectical materialism which complements the opening passages on the method of Marxism. Adding the encyclopedic touch, the author provides us with a glossary and bibliographical references. Several hundred volumes on, or about, Marx are noted in the literature of four or five languages, extending over the half-century. One line and one paragraph estimates of these works abound: acute, often devastating characterizations of the authors and schools they represent. This is a big work, something which men take decades to prepare, years to get on paper. If, as is intended, it brings the American student to a deeper knowledge of political economy, it cannot have been love's labor lost.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Revolt in India

WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE, *by Krishnalal Shridharani. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $2.50.*

NEHRU, *by Anup Singh. John Day Co. $1.75.*

SOMEDAY, perhaps soon, while the stupidly fratricidal Western world has its eyes fixed on its own flowing blood, the "locomotive of history" may take its really decisive turn in the East. Things will happen in China, in India, which will determine the direction of the future. The auguries are excellent for that direction being right—which is Left.

Reuter rumors and Havas lies, yarns by bored war correspondents—battles that never occurred, atrocities never committed, in France, the North Sea, Finland — get big black headlines on the front pages. Once in a fortnight or so, a "stick" on an inside page will apprise those lucky enough to see it that something is stirring among the 350,000,000 people of that vast peninsula on which the structure of the British empire rests. Every story from India mentions Gandhi; and now more and more often appears the name of Nehru, not without reason called "The Rising Star of India."

Neither of the books here considered makes really lively reading. Their Hindu authors write excellent English and organize their stories competently, but there is some spark lacking. They will not, it must be feared, be widely read. All the more reason why every student of current events—and of the future—should study them. Each is indubitably authoritative.

Mr. Shridharani records the facts of Gandhi's life. He analyzes the subtleties of his character and thought—no simple task. He relates Gandhi to the vast complex background of the life, the religions, and the traditions of the scores of peoples who inhabit India. The most important thing in this book, however, is the minute analysis of *Satyagraha,* or *non-violent non-cooperation,* which is Gandhi's militant technique. If you have thought of this as a simple matter, you will do well to learn from this book what a complex integration of disciplines it really is.

It seems likely that India will wage its imminent war under Gandhi's leadership by the technique of *Satyagraha.* Only with an effort can Western thought understand either the nobility or the tremendous potentialities of this kind of warfare; but unquestionably the subtle mind of the veteran Hindu leader has shrewdly estimated the depth of its roots in Indian tradition. Used to the limit under absolute discipline, non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience can render British rule in India impossible. But Gandhi's technique, rooted in the past and in religious mysticism, has its severe limitations like his prescription of village industry and the spinning wheel as defenses against economic exploitation. Let us hope that Gandhi has learned his lesson from the British betrayal of his naive hopes when during the First Imperialist World War he made the tragic mistake of trading India's services for a mere promissory note. It is to be supposed that he will stick to his stiffened demand, not for mere dominion home rule, but for absolute independence. But an India liberated would find in Gandhism a foundation of mere crumbling sand.

Jawaharlal Nehru perceives that the future belongs to peoples organized to use science and technology, not for private gain but for the public weal. Scion of a wealthy and influential family of the highest caste, Nehru is a thoroughgoing and intelligent Socialist. He has been to the Soviet Union. We are told that he is "troubled" by some things that have happened there, but no specifications are given. That his keen analytical intelligence will not remain "troubled" is evident from the fact, lately reported in the press, that he is not among those "confused" by the Soviet-German Pact and recent events in Poland

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and Finland. Between Gandhi the saintly mystic and Nehru the intelligent Marxist, there exists the deepest affection. But if *Satyagraha* fails, if the time comes when the fist must strike and the gun be fired, Nehru will be the leader. And a free India will not, cannot be a Gandhi India of village industries and gentle religious mysticism; it must and will be such an India as Nehru envisions, technologically and socially organized to utilize the entire range of scientific knowledge for the good of the people.

It is interesting that both Mr. Shridharani and Mr. Singh date the hardening of India's resolve for complete freedom from the dreadful Amritsar massacre in 1919, when the British General Dyer without any warning whatsoever turned machine guns on a peaceful gathering of people cooped in an enclosure with no means of escape, killing and wounding sixteen hundred men, women, and children, refusing to allow the wounded to be removed or even given water for forty-eight hours. I have known Communists who had never even heard of Amritsar. In the light of events, that was as inexcusable as would be ignorance of the Fall of the Bastille, or Bunker Hill, or the October Revolution.

These fact-full books are of the greatest value toward a study of the realities of British imperialism.

The introduction to *War Without Violence* by Oswald Garrison Villard and to *Nehru* by Lin Yutang are examples of the better thought of those liberals. SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

Opus 2

HUGGER-MUGGER IN THE LOUVRE, *by Elliot Paul. Random House. $2.*

ELLIOT PAUL, author, scholar, and novice at boogie-woogie piano playing, presents in *Hugger-Mugger in the Louvre,* the second of his expansive jests in the detective story medium. Homer Evans, an erudite version of Superman in the comic strips, is confronted with a mystery involving a stolen Watteau; the chairman of the board of the American Bottle and Jar Co.; The Singe, a bold and honest thug; a madhouse; several Egyptian mummies; and the odds and ends of Parisian bohemia comprising Homer's intimate circle. Persons like this writer, who have a prideful animadversion for detective stories, will find in Mr. Paul's debouche an excellent piece of mockery.

There is no suspense whatsoever, at least for myself, in the casual murders, kidnapings, and grand larcenies of a typical Homer Evans weekend. But that the victim got it is pleasing and motivated and accompanied by witty incident.

Albert Ammons, Mr. Paul's pianoforte professor, was so moved by the work that he has composed a boogie-woogie ode for three pianos entitled *Hugger-Mugger in the Groove,* which will be given its world premiere in February at Cafe Society, when Mr. Paul makes his debut as a boogie-woogie pianist. JAMES DUGAN.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Reconstruction and GWTW

The second of two articles by James Dugan on the historical falsifications of "Gone With the Wind" . . . "Hold the anti-slavery societies together. The crisis is grave."

THE issues of the Civil War were not solved by Appomattox; a decade of social struggle ensued in the South to decide whether the Negro was really to be free as an economic, political, and social man. It is the era of Reconstruction, "The Tragic Era" of reactionary usage, which is most vilified in the literature of the Bourbons, now embalmed in the four-hour film *Gone With the Wind*.

The picture brings up in typical distorted form the hated symbols of Reconstruction—the carpetbagger, the Freedman's Bureau, the slogan "Forty Acres and a Mule," the increased taxes upon the landholders, and the Union Army in occupation. The shocked bitterness of the slaveholders at finding themselves suddenly living in a democracy, and the forms of their counter-democratic action, such as the KKK, are idealized in *Gone With the Wind*.

LYNCHING PARTY

The movies have always been enamored of the Klan, but public decency has required the producers of *Gone With the Wind* to stage their lynching party offstage. Indeed, this subterfuge adds not a little to the viciousness of the picture by showing a lamplit circle of women whose husbands are out night-riding to "protect the honor of Southern Womanhood." When the men return and are confronted by a Union Army patrol, the film presents with relish a little comedy of deception, worked by the mobsters on the gullible Northern officers. It is not a pretty sight to see a movie audience led to admiring laughter for a lynch mob.

In another episode on the plantation, a former overseer of the O'Hara slaves (a Northerner, of course) who has been dismissed for fostering the illegitimate child of a poor white woman, comes back in style after the war with an offer to buy the place. He and the woman have been married and the new freedom has obviously been prosperous for him, a situation possible to poor whites after the war. But his offer is scorned by Scarlett, who refers to him as white trash. This corny dramatic situation shows the completely reactionary character of the film; not only is the Negro maligned, but the poor white as well.

The "carpetbagger" is seen in one short sequence as the beaten Rebel troops are dragging themselves home after the war and a handsome buggy crowds them off the road. In the rig sit a white carpetbagger and a flashily dressed Negro with a cigar and the air of owning the world. In these vignettes, dragged for no dramatic purpose into the story, the political intention of the picture becomes plain.

The overflowing bile of the Southern slaveowners and their Boswells is apparent again when Scarlett visits Atlanta after the war and actually has to break her step for a crowd of Negroes listening apathetically to an agent for the Freedman's Bureau promising them "Forty Acres and a Mule."

The Freedman's Bureau made no such promises; quite the contrary was true. Redivision of the land was a demand of the Negroes themselves, and the bureau was a sort of early NLRB which in most cases acted to compromise the expropriation and equitable division of the big estates. The Negro did not need to be told that he needed land and deserved it. It was the field hand and not Scarlett O'Hara who worked the Southern loam.

There is no adequate history of the carpetbagger because historians are almost unanimous in misunderstanding and wrongly em-

Mischa Richter

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phasizing his role. Thousands of honorably discharged soldiers remained in the South after the war. The free South was charged with economic promise for the workers. There were hundreds of idealists from the North in the new land which seemed to have realized the obstinate dreams and campaigns of the anti-slavery societies. Naturally there were scoundrels and the Confederate propagandists choose to characterize all the earnest progressive whites of the Reconstruction period as scoundrels. "Carpetbagger" is a Bourbon term of opprobrium; to history it becomes a badge of honor. The carpetbagger was a social pioneer like the latterday union organizer; and he is hated for the same reason—he regarded the black man as brother.

TAXING THE WEALTHY

A great deal of sympathy is asked for Scarlett O'Hara because real estate taxes are increased after the war. This was a damnable outrage because the plantation owner paid virtually no taxes before. There were no public schools and public works such as the Negro and White Reconstruction legislatures immediately instituted, and the screams of pain from the ruling class at having to relinquish tax money for their support remain with us in 1940. Says James S. Allen in his admirable *Reconstruction: The Battle For Democracy:*

> The establishment of the schools constituted one of the largest items in the state budget and was a social duty of which the old slavemasters knew nothing. To them it was foolish extravagance to supply free education to "poor whites" and Negroes, to provide funds for county officers (who were generally appointed under the oligarchy), to establish asylums for the handicapped, etc. It was considered even greater squandering and corruption when the new government set about raising these funds from among all men of property, including the big planters.

Before the war, says Allen, the tax system "placed a low valuation on land and slaves and taxed heavily the merchants, professionals, and bankers. The middle class business men paid taxes five and six times as great as the planter."

The changed political structure of the South during Reconstruction is indicated by the fact that the elections of 1867 in Miss Margaret Mitchell's home state of Georgia, with 44 percent Negro population, saw 49 percent of the vote cast by Negroes. The Reconstruction Legislature of Georgia, consisting of 137 white and thirty-three Negro members, entertained bills proposed by Negro members for women's suffrage and to illegalize the system of leasing convict labor to private contractors, a practice indulged in by the fictional Scarlett O'Hara and condoned by the picture.

Gone With the Wind presents the ancient idiotic racist argument that the KKK was fighting to protect the honor of Southern womanhood against improper advances by Negroes and carpetbaggers. That is the only motivation given for the Klan raid in the film. Of all the fantastic tribal debris that

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Sunday, January 28, A. B. MAGIL, Bronx Cooperative Auditorium, 2700 Bronx Park East, Bronx, N. Y., 8:30 P.M., Topic: LITTLE FINLAND'S BIG BOSSES.
Friday, February 2, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, Audubon Hall, Broadway at 166th Street, N. Y. C., 8:30 P.M., Topic: INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.
Friday, February 2, JOHN STARK, Progressive Forum, 430 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. C., 8:15 P.M., Topic: WHAT'S HAPPENING INSIDE SPAIN.

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clutters up the Bourbon mind, this is the meanest. Ashley Wilkes and the gentle, goateed doctor who raid the carpetbagger camp were fighting in behalf of matters more important than the inviolability of Scarlett's underdrawers; they were sneaking around in bedsheets after political game and that they eventually succeeded is apparent in the South they left to us, "the nation's No. 1 economic problem." The issues of 1866 are still alive in the South.

ASSASSINATION

The details of their kind of warfare against democracy, discreetly omitted in the picture, are typified in James S. Allen's report of the fate of the five Reconstruction leaders of Mississippi: "One was assassinated in the streets of Clinton; another was hanged by the Klan; one was shot in broad daylight, and still another was shot in the courthouse at Yazoo City, while a fifth was found dead in a waterhole." This may be thrilling entertainment material for David O. Selznick and Jock Whitney but I have an idea the American people will disagree.

As the battles of Reconstruction opened, Charles Sumner wrote to Wendell Phillips: "Hold the anti-slavery societies together. The crisis is grave." It still is. Among American newspapers only the *Daily Worker* and the Negro press are fighting the lingering historical lie of the slave South embodied in *Gone With the Wind*. What this country needs is a new Abolitionist Society to combat Hollywood's secession from the Union.

JAMES DUGAN.

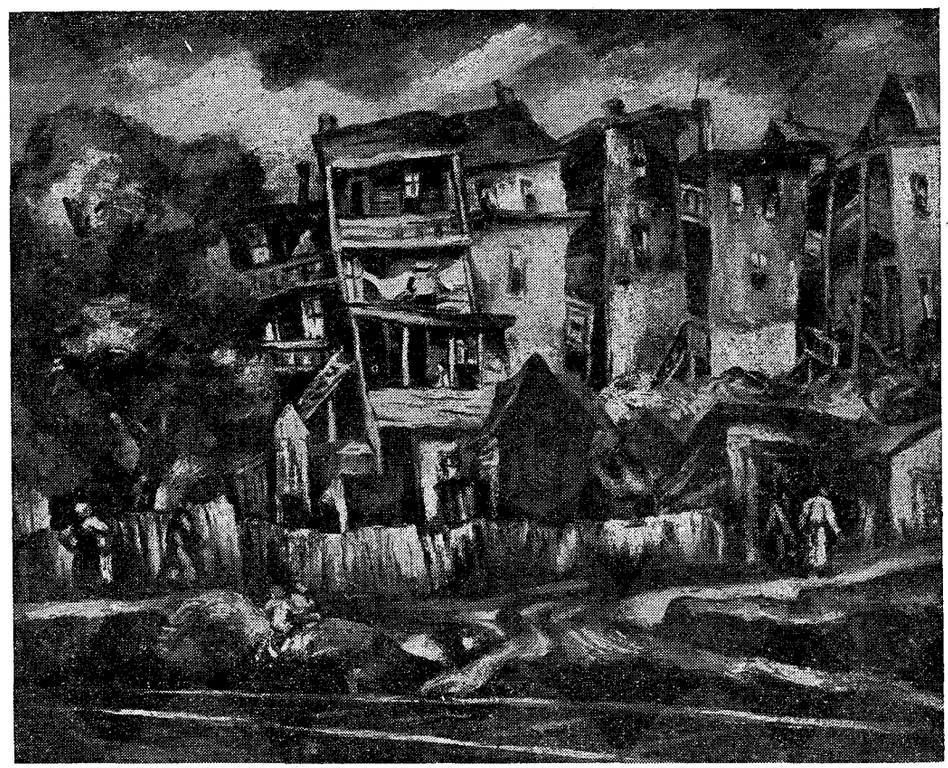
"The Paycock"

Sean O'Casey's revolutionary drama at the Mansfield.

THE current revival of Sean O'Casey's drama of the 1922 "trouble" in Ireland is an event in our theater, and the only play of the current season that deserves your unconditional support. *Juno and the Paycock* has not dated since its first presentation by the Abbey in Dublin, when the customers tore up the seats and threw them at each other's heads. Our New York audiences are more gently bred (if considerably more bloodless), and they manage to laugh in the wrong places with great consistency. But the things which are taking place upon the stage will keep your mind off the audience.

Juno is the presiding genius of the Boyle family of Dublin working people—Captain Jack ("The Paycock," who rarely works if he can help it), Mary, and Johnny, who has lost an arm for Ireland and gained a crippled hip as well. These people, together with "Joxer" Daly, The Paycock's yes-man, the neighbors, sales men and women, furniture-installment collectors, are in a state of constant ferment; just as the Irish world, in Captain Jack's phrase, is in "a state of chassis." It is the genius and the tragedy of Juno that she must hold this seething mess together by the sheer force of her maternal personality; encourage her forsaken and pregnant daughter, soothe her hysterical son, chastise and berate her shiftless husband.

Our audiences, largely unconscious as yet



ACROSS THE TRACKS, *a painting in Tromka's fourth one-man show at the ACA Gallery in New York City. In addition to oils, ten gouaches, a new medium for Mr. Tromka, are included in the exhibition, which opens January 28 and closes February 10.*

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of the existence and the meaning of the class struggle, invariably laugh at portrayals of poverty and shiftlessness, failing to realize that the latter is the product of the former. Capitalism condones and encourages shiftlessness and alcoholism in its unemployed; what else is there for them to do? But O'Casey, a rebel, infuses the drama with his personal bitterness, and the bitterness of the Irish under British and clerical oppression. His play carries an impact that even the well-stuffed audience must inevitably feel, if only for a few moments at a time. He is hilarious and tender, tragic and ironical, poet and mystic and realist all at once. His people live and breathe and fight each other, physically and emotionally, and they project their deep humanity across the footlights. Harried by unemployment and poverty, the Boyles and the Dalys, the Madigans and the rest, argue and debate, love and hate each other, philosophize about clericalism and theosophy, strut and cringe.

Juno is an imperfect play, but a very vital one. The "line" of the action is never clear, and the design has its ups and downs. The play is alternately comedy, farce, stark tragedy, and bathos—as is life itself. And out of the sum total—the abandonment of Mary Boyle, the hope of money and the failure of that money to materialize, the assassination of Johnny Boyle by his IRA comrades (for turning informer), the posturings of The Paycock, and the heart-breaking fortitude of Juno—there emerges a work that is in the great tradition of the theater and the arts.

You will have to see it; and you must watch the performances of these players. Outstanding is the Juno of Sarah Allgood; a character conceived and projected in one solid piece; a work of art. Barry Fitzgerald's incisive sense of comedy is beautifully exemplified in his Paycock, the role he originally created in Dublin. Arthur Shields, who was notable in the recent *Kindred* of Paul Vincent Carroll, is only less so as "Joxer" Daly, and creditable work is done by Aideen O'Connor (Mary), Grania O'Malley (Maisie Madigan), and Effie Shannon. Mr. Shields directed and Robert Edmond Jones set the stage.

"JOHN HENRY" DEPARTS

It was good to see that fine artist, Paul Robeson, if only for four days, in a thing called *John Henry*. Costing in the neighborhood of $80,000 and employing a cast of over fifty principals and supernumeraries, Roark Bradford's stage adaptation of the legend of the Negro Paul Bunyan was stillborn.

Any intelligent coach of amateur dramatics, reading Bradford's script, should have known that it possessed no qualities that could endear it to the most genial theater audience. There was only Mr. Robeson, who barely sang a note. The music, by Jacques Wolfe, was completely undistinguished, and the charming Albert Johnson settings were wasted—not to mention the considerable talents of the enormous Negro cast. It will always remain a major mystery why people will do things like this. ALVAH BESSIE.

Ballet Debut

Advanced Arts Ballet. William Saroyan's Goof.

ADVANCED Arts Ballets, Inc. is standing them in the aisles at the Center Theater with what it chooses to call "America's First Ballet Theater." While the term isn't exactly accurate (the Ballet Caravan has been functioning for quite a while now), the conglomeration of some of the finest dancers in the field, a big, if ill rehearsed orchestra, and the extravagance of the corporation are something of a rarity in dance history.

First of the premieres announced (there is still much ancient and thoroughly trite stuff being revived) was the ballet play *The Great American Goof,* in which William Saroyan finds one more way of saying the world's a mess and only an idiot would think of changing it. In addition to the usual snobbery common to the moldy bohemianism, there is a schoolboy slander of the radical (an opium addict who chases anything in a skirt) as well as an ugly bit of white chauvinism. This sick sort of script isn't the story for a theater of American ballet to begin with. Certainly it was nothing for Eugene Loring to hang his choreographic hat on. Loring has done some pretty positive work. His *Billy the Kid* and *City Portrait* (both for Ballet Caravan) established him among the more promising of American choreographers. *The Great American Goof* is decadent, shallow, and cynical. For all of Loring's talent, which gives the ballet play its only decent human qualities, it remains a sore spot on the stage. Saroyan may have a place in the theater, but so long as he writes Goofs, Loring and Henry Brant, who did the music, would do well to steer clear of him.

Second of the premieres was *Peter and the Wolf,* Adolph Bolm's ballet set to the *Orchestral Fairy Tale,* words and music Sergei Prokofieff composed especially for the children's concert in Moscow, May 2, 1936. The music and the theme are so winning that even the mediocre choreography and the unfortunate cutting of the script can't spoil the fun.

Hanya Holm and her dance company offered two new compositions at the Adelphi, *Dance of Introduction,* a formal composition of greeting, and *They Too Are Exiles,* a pessimistic account of those "who remain . . . where free life has dwindled to a frightened whisper." There is little understanding in this second dance of the courageous struggle of those who remain to fight for the "free life," while the "interludes . . . selected for their special expressive strength and not to represent specific countries" are studies in equivocation.

Argentinita, who returned to New York with her ensemble for two appearances at the Hollywood, is a beautiful dancer whose warm folk feeling is a gift to the theater. Antonio Triana, who does wonderful "zapateados," is a good comic, and Pilar Lopez a much improved performer. OWEN BURKE.

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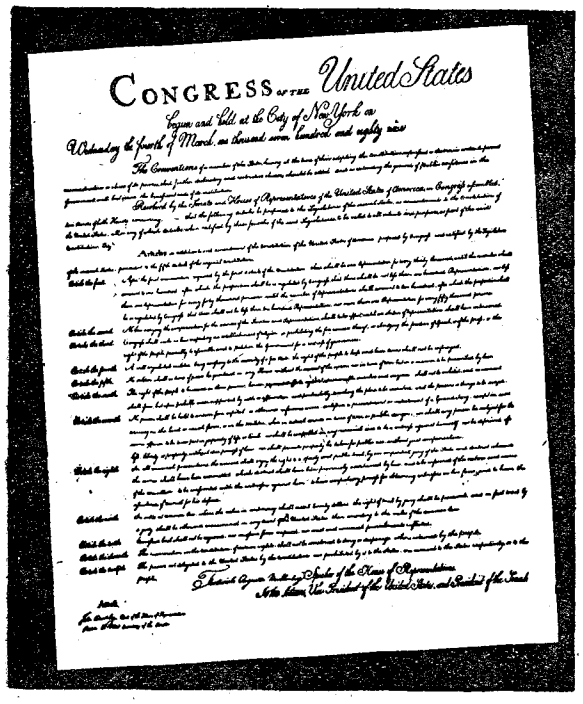
Article the Sixth... THE RIGHT of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue, but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.


CONGRESS of the United States

begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLE the third. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

ARTICLE the fourth. No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

ARTICLE the fifth. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE the sixth. A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE the seventh. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE the eighth. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE the ninth. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE the tenth. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg Speaker of the House of Representatives.
John Adams Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

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